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Contents include :

**WILL HO CHI MINH
UNITE VIET NAM ?**

ALEX JOSEY

**THE GROWTH OF
DEMOCRACY
IN CEYLON**

E. GUNAWARDENA

**JAPAN'S COTTON
MILL GIRLS**

GEOFFREY BOWNAS

**EARLY INDO-IRANIAN
RELATIONS**

R. KUMUD MOOKERJI

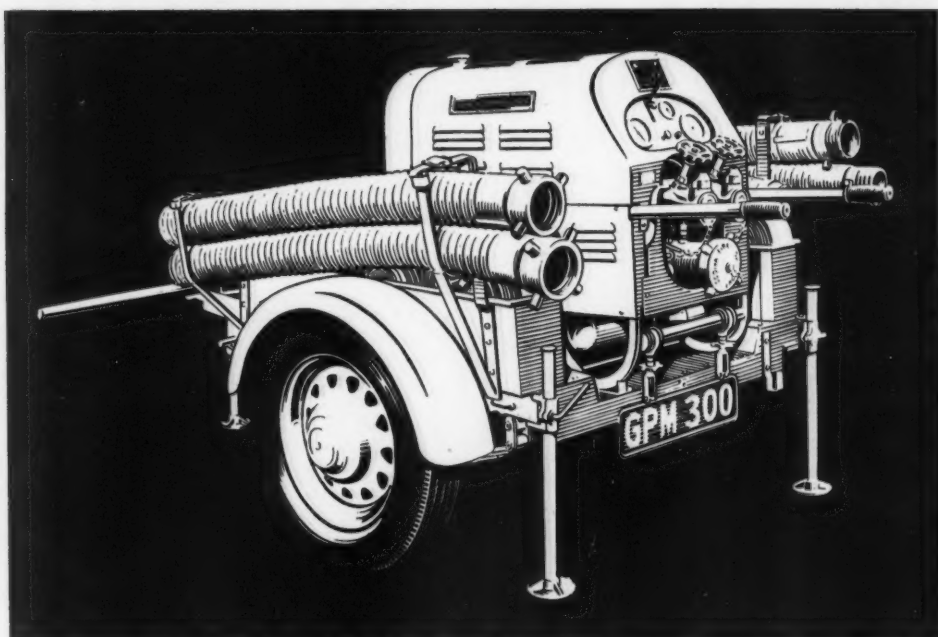
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(left) a group of Indian ladies bathing at a tank. Madras painting, about 1780 (Gayer-Anderson collection, Commonwealth of Australia.)





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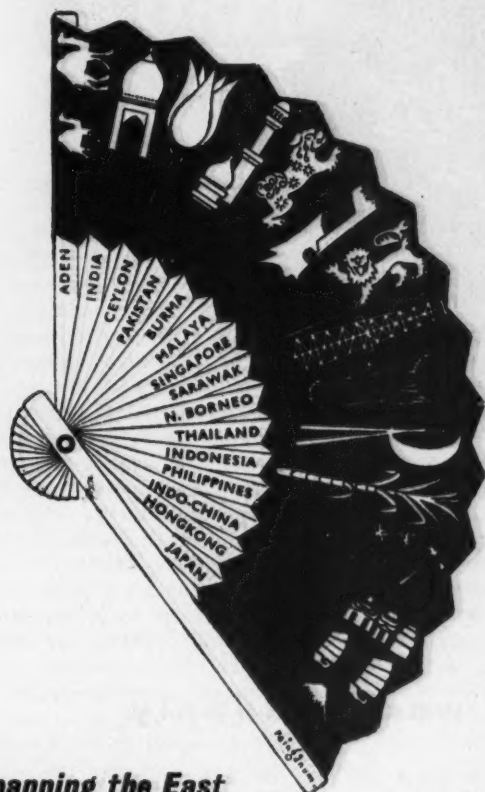
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	11
Cartoon	Abraham 12
The Revival of Extremism in U.S.	David C. Williams 13
Bandung at the U.N.	J. W. T. Cooper 14
Will Ho Chi Minh Unite Viet Nam?	Alex Josey 15
Minorities under the Viet Minh	17
Japan Fades from the Headlines	Tokyo Correspondent 18
The Growth of Democracy in Ceylon	Eustace Gunawardena 19
Reorganisation of Indian States	21
Elections in India a Thousand Years Ago	S. N. Vyas 22
Taming the Yellow River	Li Fu-tu 23
Japan's Cotton Mill Girls	Geoffrey Bownas 25
LONDON NOTEBOOK	27
FROM ALL QUARTERS	28
BOOKS ON THE FAR EAST	30
Early Indo-Iranian Relations	Radha Kumud Mookherji 37
Friedrich Max Muller	Maresh Kumar Moondhra 38
Festivals of Kashmir	Asha Dhar 39
The Dance Drama of Thailand	Francis Story 40
Scottish Industries and Asia	Glasgow Correspondent 42
The Future of Natural Rubber	Special Correspondent 44
Italy and China Trade	Alvise Scarfoglio 45
Colombo Plan Technical Assistance Scheme	46
Ceylon-Europe Trade	Gamini Navaratne 47
Asia Through Zeiss Lenses	48
TRADE, FINANCE AND INDUSTRIAL NOTES	50

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EASTERN WORLD

London November 1955

Unity in Pakistan

THE plan for integrating all the units and states of West Pakistan has come to fruition with the passing of the one unit bill on October 14th. This now means that the Pakistan central Government will control just two provinces, the east and the west. The new move will make for easier administration. Before the plan came into being the central authority in Karachi was faced with conflicting pressures and loyalties from the different areas in the west, while East Bengal (now officially East Pakistan), which had been a single province since Partition, showed the value of integration, particularly in the field of politics.

At the time when the one unit plan for West Pakistan was mooted political rivalry between the east and west wings was at a height, and a good deal of suspicion was engendered in the east that West Pakistan politicians were seeking integration for the west as a counterweight to the east. There was, perhaps, some legitimate reason for such suspicion, especially as the Constituent Assembly was at that period composed of unscrupulous nominated members, out of touch with popular sentiment, who saw growing dissatisfaction in East Bengal as a danger to their future.

Since then, however, there have been great changes on the political stage in Karachi, and fears in East Pakistan have been largely quietened, partly because the east has a more vocal and representative voice in the present Assembly. Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Awami League leader who comes from East Pakistan, attacked the one unit bill on its passage through the Assembly, but that was mainly because of technical details and because the plan was different in some aspects from that which he himself helped to draft when he was Law Minister. The main opposition to the bill has come from those provinces and legislative areas in West Pakistan, like the North West Frontier Province and the Punjab who are reluctant to lose their local autonomy. Newspaper comment in East Pakistan has been largely favourable.

The stabilisation of Pakistan into two more or less equal wings (although East Pakistan has the larger population, a fact which the western half will never be allowed to forget) should mean that the country can enjoy a greater sense of unity than at any time since her creation; it could, however, result in increased argument and tension between the east and the west.

The present Constituent Assembly was created this year for two primary reasons: to get the one unit plan into operation, and to frame a constitution. The first has been

dealt with. It is to be hoped that as soon as the Assembly has completed the second (which should be in the near future) it will dissolve itself in order that genuine general elections can take place. In this way stability will be founded from the lowest levels, and politicians will be able to talk in terms of political rather than regional rivalry.

Despair in South Viet Nam

WITH every step that Ngo Dinh Diem takes towards setting himself up as a dictator in South Viet Nam, despair becomes more widespread among his countrymen. Diem's object in becoming head of state without any disagreeable opposition, is to present to the Viet Minh in the north a bulwark of anti-communist strength, and to eventually lay down terms. He has so far refused preliminary discussions with the Viet Minh on all-Viet Nam elections which last year's Geneva conference agreed should take place in 1956, and by so doing has alienated feeling among the liberal political elements in the south who believe that negotiations must be opened with Hanoi if Indo-China is not to become a battlefield once again.

The opposition to Diem in the south, in which Tran Van Huu, a former Prime Minister, and the late Chief of Staff are prominent, feel they can only rally support against Diem's Government if they have Bao Dai at their head. Despite his long absence from the country Bao Dai is still a figurehead with a popular appeal. It is because Diem is aware of this that he has campaigned against the Emperor and discredited him on moral grounds.

From the figures of the referendum it would appear that Diem has a popular following. His immediate supporters are those who are happy to accept his money. And the bulk of the money is supplied by the United States who is shortsighted enough to be content in having another anti-Communist friend in Asia whatever the consequences. But half the population in the south are against Diem, not least because the land reforms have come to nothing. A great many of those (including a small number of Catholics) who sought refuge in the south are returning beyond the 17th Parallel.

Meanwhile the Viet Minh are not idle. They, no more than any Vietnamese, want to see bitter fighting flare up again after the date for the elections has expired, and the enthusiastic reception given to the people they are sending in among the peasants in the south is indication that support is widespread enough to making fighting unnecessary or at least shortlived. Whichever way one looks at it the Viet Minh are still winning in the tug-of-war for minds and stomachs in Indo-China.

Vietnamese who have the future of their country at heart are amazed at the naivete of American support for Diem. The position Diem is adopting, being in open contravention of the Geneva agreements, is leading South Viet Nam at worst towards further bloody conflict (in which the north will be victorious), and at best to the infiltration and eventual take-over of the south by the Viet Minh without the coalition of the liberal elements.

Indonesia's Choice

IT is not expected that the final state of the parties in the Indonesian elections will be available until well into next month when results from the outlying areas and islands are counted. Sufficient have so far been counted, however, to make the general picture clear.

The Nationalists (PNI) hold the lead with the Masjumi next, the Nahdatul Ulama (an orthodox Muslim party) and the Communists (PKI) follow in that order. The big gap between these four parties and other groups, including the Socialists, who are trailing a long way behind, seems to indicate that party politics in Indonesia is becoming more mature in rejecting a multiplicity of parties and groups representing sectional interests in favour of a few whose appeal is national.

The victory of the PNI has come as something of a surprise—and a disappointment—to the West, who were confident that a people who are widely of the Muslim faith would prefer the Masjumi who were, anyway, in power already. But it seems that the Nahdatul Ulama have captured much of the purely Muslim support with candidates of more local appeal in the villages. No one had reckoned with this and Masjumi Party leaders are rather put out, since the social platform of the Nahdatul Ulama is closer to that of the PNI than to the Masjumi.

This may mean that the next Government of Indonesia

will be a coalition of Nationalists and orthodox Muslims—a coalition which would suit the mood of Indonesians at present. Such a government would commend itself to western countries only because it left the Communists out altogether. But with the PNI as the majority party it can hardly be expected that the next government will be pro-West. There is, of course, a possibility that the three leading parties will go into coalition to weaken entirely the effect of the large Communist vote, but this would lead to constant dissension in Cabinet and Parliament because of the opposing ideas within the Masjumi and Nationalist parties, which in turn would give the PKI an excellent opportunity to profit in the political heat.

At all costs Indonesia now needs a period of balanced administration which can put the country's economic and other difficulties to rights. The government must be formed with Indonesia's future welfare in view. It would be disastrous for the formation of the government to be influenced by some desire to make a good show to the outside world. That would make a negation of the elections.

Australia and Russia

THE trade winds of co-existence are slowly changing the political atmosphere in the Pacific, and Australia in particular—after having committed herself by means of the ANZUS Pact too far in to the American orbit—is trying to adapt herself gradually to new conditions



WEANING TIME

which will soon demand a conciliatory attitude towards Peking. However, to fit into the new pattern, Australia will have to overcome another major problem. Reports indicate that the most topical problem at present confronting the Australian Government and the country's political parties, is the prospect of relations with Russia. On the one hand, the post-Geneva international climate and Australia's economic exigencies necessitate normalisation of relations with Russia, but on the other hand, the ill-famed Petrov case stands in the way of an easy *rapprochement*.

Australian sheep-breeders are now demanding the immediate restoration of trade relations with the Soviet Union. According to official statistics, Australia's wool exports showed a decrease of A£54m. in the 1954/55 fiscal year, as against the previous year's figure. The fact that Russia had stopped her purchases of Australian wool was the main cause of the decrease in wool exports returns. In the last fiscal year, wool shipments to the Soviet Union have shrunk to A£0.5m. from A£56.5m. in 1953/54. The

National Council of Traders fear that should there be no normalisation of Australo-Soviet relations in the near future, the loss of the Russian market, with foreign markets still shrinking and competition growing tenuous, will result in a decrease of at least A£60 to 70m. in their earnings.

The Government is under constant pressure on the part of trading circles to restore normal relations with Russia. Certain Government circles are reported to be in favour of this, but are hampered by the Petrov case.

It is understood in this connexion, that Foreign Minister Casey's statement of August 25 to the effect that the Australian Government does not feel it necessary to take the initiative of normalising relations with Soviet Russia has caused deep irritation in political and business circles, where the opinion is held that Mr. Casey and the Prime Minister need not do anything more than to let the Petrov case fall into oblivion, particularly since it was responsible for the severance of relations. The case has not won the Government any laurels, and the only right way out is to bury it without any additional publicity.

ASIA IN WASHINGTON

REVIVAL OF EXTREMISM IN U.S.

By David C. Williams (Washington)

AFTER the balmy post-Geneva weather, a distinct chill has set in. From both sides of the Iron Curtain, cold winds of doubt are playing upon the world's new-found confidence. President Eisenhower's sudden illness, and a series of tricky Communist manoeuvres culminating in the offer of arms to Egypt, have perceptibly reduced the prospects that the United States and the Soviet Union can negotiate themselves out of the cold war. They have correspondingly increased the danger that the still-tense situation in the Far East will flare up into renewed war.

Basic to the world's surge of confidence was the faith that, at the top, in both the United States and the Soviet Union, were reasonable and responsible men, who would not out of recklessness or desire for short-term advantages trifle with the peace of the world.

Thus, the President in April and May last year over-ruled the recommendation of his chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Radford, and his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, that American air and naval power be used to rescue the beleaguered French forces at Dien Bien Phu. By insisting that America's allies be consulted, he headed off precipitate action.

In September of the same year, the President again over-ruled Radford and Dulles and turned down their recommendation that Chiang Kai-shek be allowed to bomb mainland China with the planes America had furnished him, and that, if the Communists retaliated with an all-out attack on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, American planes should join in the bombing.

The President personally was the author of the current American policy of "disengagement" in the Far East. It

was he who ordered the "re-leashing" of the Formosa Nationalists, directed the initiation of talks with the Chinese Communists at Geneva, and suggested that these talks might be followed by conversations between Dulles and Chou En-lai.

If, both over Indo-China and over Quemoy and Matsu, the United States came perilously close to involvement in atomic war, it was partly because the President himself came slowly to the realization, in his words of a year ago, that in an atomic age there is no alternative to peace. It was partly, too, because of the unprecedented degree to which he has delegated Presidential power and responsibility to his leading officials, which has meant that his interventions have tended to come at the final and perilous stages of policy formation.

Of his own sincerity of purpose, and of the degree to which it has won the support of the American people, there can be no doubt. His steadfast pursuit of peace has

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so increased his already overwhelming popularity that, except for a ragged handful clustered about Senator McCarthy, his critics have been silenced. In a way which only he could have achieved, he has transformed the direction and the mood of America, replacing a drift to war amidst pervading hysteria by a calm and confident pursuit of peace.

The medical prospects at present are that, at the very best, the President will have to reduce further his already restricted participation in government, and save himself for the most important decisions, which he alone under the American Constitution can make. The danger of irresponsible action by his subordinates is correspondingly increased.

Now that he almost certainly will not be a candidate for re-election, his influence over his own Republican Party is likely to wane. Senator Knowland, so quiet in recent months will once more raise his voice on behalf of his Formosan friends. The lunatic wing of the Republican Party will once more be in full cry.

It must in all candour, however, be noted that recent Communist actions have not tended to increase American confidence. Instead of welcoming and developing the President's initiative at Geneva, the Communists appear to have resorted to diplomatic manoeuvres to side-track it.

So, the old fears about possible Communist advances in Asia are revived, particularly after the Communist gains

in the Indonesian election. Was the Geneva Conference a feint to draw the free world's attention away from Asia, and enable the Communists to go forward there unnoticed? Some people are beginning to suspect so, and to voice their suspicions openly.

The continued recovery of the President from his illness, and the profound popular support which his policy continues to enjoy, will help to delay any change in it and any return of the Republican backwoodsmen to the degree of influence they enjoyed in 1953, when the Republicans controlled Congress and Eisenhower had not mastered the intricacies of civilian politics.

On the other hand, there appears to be a responsibility on the part of the Communist leaders, both in Russia and in China, to refrain from actions which exploit the post-Geneva *detente*, rather than develop it into an enduring peace.

In this fluid situation, the role of free Asia may be of vital importance. The conference of Asian and African nations at Bandung was a milestone on the road to peace in Asia, demonstrating as it did that the great majority of these nations were opposed both to any attempt at a comeback by the Chinese Nationalists and to the use of force by the Chinese Communists to solve the Formosa question. There will be a continuing need for them to play this restraining and moderating role in the dangerous months that lie ahead.

BANDUNG AT THE U.N.

By J. W. T. Cooper (EASTERN WORLD Diplomatic Correspondent)

GREAT consternation is being caused in Western capitals about the activities of the Arab-Asian countries in the United Nations. This autumn's session of the General Assembly has for the first time felt the full impact of the anti-colonial feeling of its members from Asia and Africa. The line-up of Middle and Far Eastern countries at the United Nations on colonial issues is not new, but the strengthening of their position in this first Assembly since the Bandung conference earlier this year is most marked.

The voting of the coalition of states on the issue of Algeria which reversed the Steering Committee's recommendation that the General Assembly should not discuss the matter, brought the growing difference of opinion between the anti-colonial *bloc* and the West out starkly into the open. Following their endorsement of Indonesia's case against the Netherlands over West Irian (Dutch New Guinea) at the Bandung conference, the Asian-Arab group voted, against virulent European and Australian opposition, to include Irian on the agenda.

This is the first time that any group has been strong enough to challenge the Western powers at the UN, and to over-ride (as it did in the case of Algeria) the powerful Steering Committee. There has, for some time, been a feeling among the Asian countries that the former colonial nations, with United States support, have dominated pro-

ceedings at the United Nations, and decisions there have invariably gone in the West's favour. The Bandung conference was the first overt indication of resentment among the "coloured" nations that Western countries always had their own way in world councils. Western dominance in international affairs was one of the reasons for the convening of the Afro-Asian conference. Although the West will deny its validity, the countries of the Asian and African continents are still concerned that the world is divided into black and white, and they are conscious that even in the mid-twentieth century the West is still inclined to cling, patronisingly, to the theory of white supremacy.

The deepening concern felt in Washington, London and Paris is not so much because of what the UN will be obliged to discuss as of what implications the trend in the Assembly, and thus in world relationships, will hold for future Western policies in the UN and outside it. The Foreign Office and the State Department view with something approaching alarm the fact that the Soviet Union will be on the majority side of many issues before the Assembly, and to add to this America is downright angry that the anti-big power aspect of the Arab-Asian coalition attracts the support of certain Latin American States.

In terms of global policy the US is disturbed that the Asian-African states are moving away from the West, and

although she cannot claim that they are moving politically into the Soviet orbit, she can see that they are enjoying closer relations with Moscow and Peking because the Communist interpretation of the "Geneva spirit" has been more obvious and realistic than the West's. It is an interesting and significant fact, and one which has caused some worry in Washington, that on the question of seating mainland China, the vote was not an entirely negative one. The General Assembly merely postponed until next year the decision to seat China. Many eastern countries, like Burma and India, see the unbending opposition of the West to Peking in the UN as an affront to Asian dignity, and it did not go unnoticed, even among many delegations who voted for postponement, that the new Argentine delegation was seated before the revolution in their country was complete. It is clear from the attitude of Asian diplomats that such situations will not go unchallenged in the coming months and years. The common front against colonisation is also part of a move against "imperialism" within the United Nations.

The Western powers are already beginning talk of anti-colonialism as a danger to the structure of the UN, but a greater menace is the reaction of US and the big European powers if they cannot continue to have their own way. Thomas J. Hamilton, writing in the *New York Times* early last month, went as far as to say:

"If General Assembly decisions started going against the United States, many Americans would start asking why this was allowed to 'happen,' and end by turning against the organisation."

Press and official reaction in Europe is indicative of the kind of thinking current in Western circles about the purpose of the UN. When the French walked out after the Algeria decision, M. Pinay talked sourly of the moral authority of the UN being brought to bear "in the service of division, violence and despair," and *Le Figaro*, the Paris daily, in an editorial castigated Greece and other states who voted against France because they were acting against the "western community" and playing "our enemy's game." *Le Figaro* was only stating openly what goes on

in many minds in America and Europe—that western ideas on any matter of colonialism or political philosophy are sacrosanct, and to disagree with them is a heresy.

The United States, and to some extent the remainder of the Western world, has evaluated the policies of Arab and Asian states in terms of how close or distant they were from Communism. This has been the yardstick. Because some countries who attended the Afro-Asian Conference spoke sharply of "Communist imperialism," the State Department thought they saw some fruits of American policy. The anti-colonial trend which was common throughout the Bandung conference was under-evaluated, and yet it is the legacy of that at the UN which is now causing so much hearburning in the West. The basic premise of anti-Communism dictates expediency in the West's foreign relations, and time and again—especially in Asia—it has proved to be misdirected. America's abstention in the General Assembly vote to discuss Irian—a great disappointment to the Dutch—was dictated by the desire to get on the right side of Indonesia, which at the time looked like having a pro-West Masjumi government voted in at the elections.

Now the Western states are being confronted with this anti-colonial trend in the UN, they are looking to ultimate results rather than causes. So far they have been content to worry about the Arab-Asian group finding itself in agreement with the Communist bloc. Strategy (military, political and economic) against the threat of Soviet aggression is the criterion of western colonial policy, but that argument cuts no ice with subject peoples, present and former, who see that in the last analysis such strategy may be to their detriment. No talk of the danger of Communism or that colonies are internal affairs not covered by the UN Charter will change the feeling among the anti-colonial countries that they should exercise their moral right through the agency of the UN to work against systems of government under which they themselves have suffered and which are anathema to them.

WILL HO CHI MINH UNITE VIET NAM?

By Alex Josey (EASTERN WORLD Correspondent in South-East Asia.)

AFTER a fortnight in Hanoi and a few days here I have the distinct impression that the plan of President Ho Chi Minh, still the most influential man in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, to unite the country has a much better chance of success than Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem's hopes of trying to preserve the South for non-Communism. If for no other reason than that Diem's policy will freeze solid the line across the 17th Parallel which divides the country into two. On the other hand Ho Chi Minh's plan for unification seeks to unify the country while at the same time permitting both zones to a great deal of local autonomy.

Ho Chi Minh intends to do this by having a national assembly, freely voted, which will appoint a single central coalition government, and a House of Representatives in

each Zone with authority to make laws not inconsistent with the laws of the State. In the north they will go ahead with Communism. In the south agriculture will be developed; state owned trade and industry will be expanded; foreign enterprises protected; rents reduced and compensation paid for land taken over by the Government for distribution among the landless. There will be equal rights for men and women, an eight to ten hour working day; a minimum wage; illiteracy will be abolished; the two armies will be united; all foreign troops ordered out; no foreign bases permitted; economic and cultural relations with France developed on the basis of equality and mutual benefit; good neighbours' relations established with Laos and Cambodia, and with other countries in South-East Asia; diplomatic relations established with any country

in the world on the basis of the five principles of co-existence; no adherence to any military bloc.

In answer to this comprehensive programme carefully worked out to appeal to all types of nationalists in the south, Mr. Diem says that "the necessary free conditions for elections do not exist in the North." Even suppose he were satisfied they did, Mr. Diem would insist upon four special and essential conditions. They are (1) Voters must be able to prove that they were of third generation born in Viet Nam; (2) Voters must be domiciled in the same district for a long period, the exact period to be fixed later; (3) Voters must possess property, such as houses, land, ricefields, to prove they have real interests in the country; (4) Voters must not belong to any military or semi-military organisation. To say the least these conditions compare badly with the proposals of the north which offers the vote to all Vietnamese citizens over the age of 18 without any property or residential qualifications.

I had an hour's private conversation with Mr. Pham Van Dong, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister; I met President Ho Chi Minh at the China Day reception; I met General Vo Nguyen Giap at a party given by the Polish Ambassador on the International Control Commission. They are all confident that the desire of the Vietnamese nationalists in the south to see fulfilled Ho Chi Minh's forty-year-old dream of a free, united and independent Viet Nam will prove stronger than Mr. Diem's warnings that this will ultimately lead to Communist domination of the whole country.

To refute this President Ho Chi Minh has promised a great deal of autonomy for the south, and a central coalition government and not a party government. Preferring to accept the advice of the United States rather than that of the British, Mr. Diem has refused to negotiate with the northern Government. Mr. Diem believes that non-Communists in a coalition Viet Nam national government would, in the end, be eliminated, as non-Communists have been eliminated in coalition governments with Communists in Eastern Europe. If nothing else, this attitude betrays Mr. Diem's fear of his own weakness. President Ho Chi Minh is not frightened that the non-Communists will absorb the Communists.

Meanwhile, while the secret organisations of the north are spreading news of Ho Chi Minh's plan for unification in the south, the economic-aid war, in which China and Russia support the north and the United States the south, continues. Together, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union have promised economic aid to the north worth half a billion American dollars—even more than the United States is pouring into South Viet Nam to bolster up Mr. Diem's Government. Already Chinese railway engineers have helped rebuild part of the railway in the north. I spoke to several Russians in Hanoi. They had come from Moscow to help north Viet Nam plan their agriculture policy, to build their pineapple and fish canning factories, to help develop their wealth in minerals. Basically an agricultural country, Viet Nam, in the north, has coal and phosphate in abundance. With Russia's help, north

Viet Nam hopes shortly to establish its own steel works, which would become the basis of Viet Nam's modest heavy industry. In the south, the French own large rubber estates and tea plantations, and there are some tin mines. Saigon, capital of the south, probably has as many Americans as Hanoi has Chinese and Russians to help and advise them.

But the outcome of this economic-aid war is not going to decide the future of Viet Nam. This will depend largely upon the understandable desire of the Vietnamese to unify their country even if they all have to become Communists. Mr. Diem has no plan for unification which would be acceptable to the North. President Ho Chi Minh on the other hand does have a plan which will attract the favourable attention of many Southerners because (a) he offers unification and (b) explains that unification does not necessarily mean Communism.

I believe that ex-Emperor Bao Dai voiced the sentiments of the average Vietnamese when he said that Diem is worsening relations with Ho Chi Minh; which is bad because this means holding up progress towards national unity. I think we can take it that Bao Dai is not a Communist. In this instance he is a Viet Nam nationalist.

In the north and here in the south I met Frenchmen who have come, at this late stage, to realise that Ho Chi Minh will bring about an independent united Viet Nam in due course, perhaps within a year. They disagree with America's support for Mr. Diem and feel that Ho Chi Minh's unification proposals make it possible, in theory, for at least part of the country to be saved from complete Communism. Believing this, they were, when I was in Hanoi, negotiating a trade agreement with Ho Chi Minh, not because of the value of the trade with the north but more in anticipation of the time when Ho Chi Minh will be president of all Viet Nam. The French realise that a unified Viet Nam could become a transit country for trade between France and China. Rather surprisingly, I find a great deal of friendly feeling towards France, and an almost total absence of bitterness. The Vietnamese say they fought against French colonialism not the French people.

In the north, Hanoi is a grim city full of rubber-shod alert armed soldiers. In the south, Saigon is a very much French city. There are pavement cafes, and French wine and perfume and cakes, thousands of French cars and engine-powered bicycles; night clubs with noisy dance bands, elaborate brothels and many, many beautiful girls. In the north, prostitution has been stamped out; the girls have been found jobs, those who did not flee to the south. There are few pretty dresses: the girls have cut their hair and they wear black slacks and blue blouses and look very much like Chinese. Hanoi is an organised city; the people, no doubt willingly, are regimented. I thought, as I was driven about the town in the Russian car the Government kindly provided for me, how very difficult Mr. Diem must find it to oppose this efficient organisation, founded as it is upon a fanatical-like belief, which is almost a religion, that Ho Chi Minh is a living god sent to liberate Viet Nam from foreign oppression. I do not see how Mr. Diem can win.

MINORITIES UNDER THE VIET MINH

WITH the setting up of the "Democratic Republic of Vietnam" after the Japanese war, much attention was paid by the Viet Minh to the position of the minorities in the country. With the express purpose of gaining their support in the struggle against the French they were given certain guarantees of equality. After the Geneva Conference, Viet Minh leaders tackled the minorities problem anew. Viet Minh broadcasts began extolling the improvements in the minorities' standard of living that could be achieved through increased trade with Communist China, in an effort to encourage increased production by the minorities of forest and agricultural products; schools were established and cadres moved into the region to conduct an intensified propaganda campaign.

Viet Minh celebrations of its return to Hanoi, held during the first week in January, 1955, included an audience given by Ho Chi Minh to some 600 delegates representing 65 ethnic minorities. Prominent among the DRV officials present at this meeting was General Chu Van Tan, Thai member of the Central Executive Committee of the Lao Dong (Worker's or Communist Party). Ho Chi Minh announced at this meeting that the Viet Minh had decided to grant autonomy to the north-western zone and would progressively extend this policy to other areas. He emphasised, however, that by "autonomy" he meant autonomy "within the bloc of solidarity with Vietnam." He stated further: "Once it acquires its autonomy the region must eagerly compete in realising progress. Thus all the zones will progressively become strong and prosperous and will contribute to the power of the country."

Moving in other directions, the Viet Minh announced a decision to standardise the script of the Thai peoples, who possessed at least five different basic ways of writing. A central normal school for ethnic minorities was inaugurated in Hanoi on March 19 this year, which according to the Viet Minh, opened with 410 students representing 27 racial groups from North Vietnam and seven racial groups from South Vietnam. The most dramatic move came with the announcement in April of the establishment of an autonomous zone for the Thai and Meo peoples of north-west Tonkin.

The Thai-Meo autonomous zone was officially inaugurated by governmental decree on April 29. Although this decree was not issued until the new policy had been given "democratic" sanction by the adoption of a resolution on minority policies by the Fourth Session of the National Assembly held March 20-26, the decision to establish an autonomous area in the north-west was made initially in December, 1954, at a session of the DRV Council of Ministers.

The Thai-Meo autonomous zone covers an area of approximately 19,300 square miles, almost one-third of the total area of North Vietnam. It is bounded on the north by Communist China, on the west and south by the Pathet Lao-occupied provinces of Laos, on the south-east by

Viet Minh province of Hoa Binh, and is separated from the rest of the DRV to the east by the Fan Si Pan mountain range, just west of the Red River, which runs in a south-easterly direction through the province of Lao Kay.

The area is inhabited by some 330,000 members of 20 minority tribes, the most numerous of which are 190,000 Thai and 60,000 Meo. Such less numerous ethnic groups as the Man, Muong, and Nhung comprise the remaining 80,000 inhabitants. The Thai-Meo autonomous subdivision of the DRV is officially termed a "zone" (Khu) which is described in the enabling decree as "an echelon of local administration placed under the direct control of the central government."

The zone (Khu) is further subdivided into divisions or Chau (16 in number) and villages or Xa. The provincial level of administration has been abolished. The zone is administered locally by a 24-member Administrative Committee and a People's Council of as yet undisclosed number. It is to be noted that the Chairman of the Administrative Committee, who also helped in the formation of the zone, is Sa (Ca) Van Minh, the Thai dissident and former Viet Minh governor of Son La province who fled with the Viet Minh as French forces re-entered early in 1946.

The Administrative Committee which was theoretically elected at a minorities Congress on May 11, 1955, consists of: 10 Thai, 5 Meo, 2 Vietnamese, 2 Muong, 1 Man and 5 representatives of lesser minority elements. Among the primary tasks of the Administrative Committee, as outlined in the Viet Minh party organ *Nhan Dan* of May 11, 1955, were: (1) "form units of regular military troops, units of People's Partisan Troops, and units of security troops to protect the zone;" (2) "develop a corps of local cadres;" and (3) "propagate belief in President Ho Chi Minh, and Lao Dong Party, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

In certain political and cultural respects, substantial concessions have ostensibly been made to the ethnic minorities under the new minorities policy. The inhabitants of the region are guaranteed equal rights with other peoples of the DRV, they are granted the right to vote and stand for election to the National Assembly, and to participate in the governing organs of the autonomous zone. Freedom of belief is guaranteed as is the right to keep or change manners and customs provided such changes accord with majority wishes within the ethnic group and are approved by the "competent authorities" of the zone.

On the other hand, the circumscribed nature of Thai-Meo autonomy becomes fully evident from the political, fiscal and military regulations under which the zone must operate. In the political sphere, laws enacted by the administration of the autonomous region must be consonant with laws common to the whole of the DRV and can become effective only after approval by the central government. It is specifically provided that "the administration and the

population of the autonomous zone must adhere to the general policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the direction of the affairs of the autonomous zone." In the fiscal sphere, it has been decreed that the principle of the "financial unity" of the country must be maintained; that is to say, although the zone administration will control its own finances, it must contribute a portion of its revenue to the central budget.

The announcement of the establishment of a Thai-Meo autonomous zone was followed quickly by the convocation of an organising congress that met from May 7-12 this year, in the province of Son La. In attendance were the DRV Ministers of Interior and Agriculture as well as representatives of the Lao Dong (Worker's or Communist) Party, the Viet Minh Army, and of various DRV front groups. Prominent among those in attendance, and apparently the leading organiser of the congress was General Chu Van Tan, representing the Party Central Committee, who promised the Congress "to mobilise all the party members and cadres in the Thai-Meo autonomous area to co-operate with the local People's Administrative Committee . . ." The Congress immediately gave its "confidence in the direction of President Ho, the Labour Party, and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam." At the same time, the 24-member Administrative Committee was elected (the Viet Minh says 92 per cent. of the population voted for candidates) with Sa (Ca) Van Minh as Chairman.

The new zone was hailed by Viet Minh propagandists as a significant new development in the "correct" nationalities policy of the DRV which reflects the solicitude of Ho Chi Minh, the Party, and the Viet Minh regime for the welfare of the minorities. The Viet Minh's policy of "brotherly solidarity" was contrasted with the "divide-and-rule" programme of the "imperialists and feudalists" and a special message from Ho Chi Minh described the region as "an integral member of the great Vietnam family."

It is apparent that, on a short-range basis, a combination of political, economic, and strategic considerations impelled the Viet Minh to move quickly in the north-west region. It further emerges that this ostensible concession to minority aspirations has the ultimate effect of obviating

whatever independence the tribal minorities formerly possessed. Politically, the north-west region has been a constant thorn in the side of the Viet Minh in that it has served as a major source of anti-Viet Minh activities. Although Viet Minh military pre-eminence in the region was finalised with the fall of Dien Bien Phu in the spring of 1954, minority resistance has not been entirely eliminated.

The existence of zonal administration, ostensibly under the control of the minorities themselves, provides a local mechanism through which an intensive campaign can be conducted among the minority elements in an effort to overcome basic hostilities; integrate the area spiritually as well as practically into the DRV; encourage the population to contribute actively in the strengthening of the Viet Minh regime; and establish a model for similar efforts among minority groups in other areas of Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh has personally exhorted both old and new cadres in the region to greater efforts and urged the minorities to "emulate to increase production," "help the army and security policy to oppress the divisive and sabotaging plot of the enemy," and "set a good example for other autonomous areas which will be gradually created in the future."

Economically, the area provides an additional source of agricultural and mineral products which may be exploited by the Viet Minh to alleviate the food difficulties which confront the DRV and to help pay for much-needed imports.

Strategically, the area occupies the north-west triangle of the DRV that borders the Laotian provinces of Phong Saly and Sam Neua from which Viet Minh regular forces were required to withdraw under the Geneva Agreement but which remain in *de facto* possession of the Viet-Minh-controlled Pathet Lao movement. Thus, the area constitutes not only the western flank of the DRV but, in addition, is the source of sustenance for its Laotian adherents and could serve as the base for possible future Communist military operations in Laos. It is noteworthy that the future development of regular and guerilla forces has been made a primary task of the zone administration and General Vo Nguyen Giap, Commander-in-Chief of the Viet Minh Army, has made it clear that henceforth the peoples of the Thai-Meo zone will be expected to contribute militarily as well as economically to the strength of the Viet Minh regime.

JAPAN FADES FROM THE HEADLINES

By our Tokyo Correspondent

A FEW days before the departure of Foreign Minister Shigemitsu to the United States a high official of the Gaimusho (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) was asked about the practical purposes of the Foreign Minister's trip. His reply was surprisingly frank: "Public Relations." American and Japanese commentators have been saying the same, and even the Foreign Minister himself did not go beyond well-worn generalities when questioned on the aims of his visit to Washington.

The Government of Japan must have felt badly the need to improve its public relations in the United States. Japan's constant more or less vociferous objections to American policy and actions together with the various new ventures of Japan in the field of foreign relations and trade—which have not always met expectations—must have had their effect in Washington. It seems that the State Department and the Americans have become tired of the reiterated assertions of Japanese independence coupled with the con-

tinued claims for financial support. During the Occupation a United States Secretary of the Army visiting Japan ventured the opinion that the United States could well afford to leave Japan to herself, and that this would be probably the best for both of them. Then, this view was anathema. But by and by, the diplomatic representatives of the United States in Japan began to share the Secretary's idea or, at least, to maintain that time had become ripe for Japan to make a bigger effort to furnish the still missing *quo in the quid pro quo* relation between the two countries—particularly after the Occupation had come to an end. The build-up of Japanese defence forces, a less intransigent attitude against American investment in Japan and a more expedient handling of the pending reparations disputes with the various countries in South-East Asia, were among the main points the United States would like to see settled. So far, Washington is under the impression that Japan prefers procrastination in the belief that time will work in her favour. Consequently, American interest in things Japanese has cooled off. Even the martial utterances of the newly appointed Director of the Self Defence Agency, Mr. Sunada, on the replacement of American Forces within 3-5 years by Japanese forces, made too obviously on the eve of the Prime Minister's departure, are not liable to impress the State Department unless they are quickly followed by corresponding action. So far, these statements have only evoked strong protests from the academic youth of Japan.

As a result of all this, Japan is no longer in the headlines of the United States. Japanese affairs are no longer receiving the same top priority they still enjoyed a short while ago. Hence, the Japanese apprehensions and their understandable nervousness. Two Japanese attempts during the last few months to send high ranking cabinet ministers to Washington for "explanations" were frustrated by the State Department. Owing to premature publicity this led to a considerable loss of face of the government. The recent American attitude made the Japanese realise that times have changed. They had been led to believe that they were indispensable to the United States. Based on this conviction they had received ample proof that all their needs would be met by Washington, practically *ad infinitum*. Some time ago, Minister Watanabe of the Japanese Embassy in

Washington submitted a Memorandum to the Government of Japan warning against continuous reliance on American financial support. The Memorandum was published partly, and apparently impressed the Japanese. However, during the political struggle between the Yoshida Liberals and the Hatoyama-Shigemitsu group the issue was somewhat forgotten. Since the beginning of this year it began to worry the Government. Elaborate preparations were made to pave the way for the necessary improvement of relations.

When the Foreign Minister went to Washington he was accompanied by high ranking Gaimusho officials including Mr. Ichiro Kono, the Minister for Agriculture and Forestries, and Mr. Nobusuke Kishi, Secretary General of the Democratic Party. Mr. Kishi is an ardent advocate of the much publicised merger between the two conservative parties, the Yoshida-Ogata Liberals and the Hatoyama-Shigemitsu Democrats—a political development which is believed in Japan to be desirable for American interests. Mr. Kono went to Washington from London where he was briefed on the latest stand of the Soviet-Japan talks. Their slow progress and the reiteration of principles instead of obtaining at least some practical results might well be interpreted in Washington as a strengthening of the American viewpoint. When Mr. Hatoyama made his first announcements and overtures to the Communist countries for "normalisation of relations," Washington was rather doubtful as to whether Japan would be able to obtain anything except promises for the future, conditioned by many "ifs" and "whens." It seems that Mr. Kono had to agree with the American original view: none of the high hopes of the Japanese for trade with China and the Soviet Union has materialised. On the contrary, recent developments have dashed cold water on any high expectations which might have been entertained in Japan.

When Mr. Yoshida, the previous Prime Minister, visited Washington last year he was able to obtain substantial American support in the form of agricultural surplus products. This time, Mr. Shigemitsu was facing a cooler atmosphere in the State Department. Japanese ambiguities towards American interests seem to have done their part to create the chill.

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN CEYLON

By Eustace Gunawardena (Kadawata, Ceylon)

CEYLON is looked upon by the West as a hopeful democracy and her democratic progress is watched with interest to some extent by the rest of the world especially the advanced countries of the West. In judging democratic progress democracy should not be confined merely to the narrow sense of political democracy implying constitutions, parliaments and free elections but rather to the wider sense as understood by the West as free speech, liberty of thought, freedom of association, freedom

of the press and development of free institutions. Democracy as understood in this wider sense is not easy to achieve amongst an oriental people that have not fully shed off feudalism. Age old customs, traditions and prejudices built up during long periods of feudalistic and colonial rule stand in the way of adopting real democracy. Illiteracy and economic conditions too have a share in retarding the development of democracy.

If we examine the ancient history of this country a glimpse

into the state of democracy can be obtained though by no means an accurate one since in former times it was the ruler, and not the people, that mattered, and the whims and fancies of the ruler could have a penetrating effect on the life of the people as a whole. The earliest of our kings, Vijaya could be considered a democratic individual when he married Kuveni a person of different social status and caste, but the fact that he later discarded her and married a princess from India indicates that the democratic qualities were not deep rooted at the time. On the other hand there were several customs and practices to show that democracy existed in some form or other such as the subject electing their king until the time of Parakrama Bahu, who adopted the principle of hereditary kingship. The government of the people was also based on a type of benevolent despotism guided by the dictum of Asoka that the king should be like a father unto his people. The will of the people was assumed and the people were governed in the way the king thought it best.

The government of the country in ancient Ceylon was remarkably democratic in the sphere of local administration. The village was a complete self governing unit and elected its chief and carried on the administration of village affairs without interference from the king. The village was so independent that even the king was not expected to enter the place. Freedom of expression was also present in ancient times for we know that Mahanama attacked the kings in his writings and not much exception was taken to it.

Though it could be proved that in ancient Ceylon several features of democracy existed it cannot however be said that there was democracy as we know it today. For this democracy to be established or at least made acquaintance with, it was necessary to wait until the coming of the Europeans. The Portuguese who preceded the Dutch and British did not establish democracy in the proper sense since they belonged to an early period when Europe herself was struggling under feudalism. The most conspicuous act towards democracy performed by them was the compulsion of all persons irrespective of caste to peel cinnamon thus giving a severe shock to the caste system in this country. The Dutch by introducing Roman Dutch Law was responsible for giving the people a new sense and idea of equity and justice.

The conversion to Christianity by the Portuguese and the Dutch helped many Sinhalese to break down old prejudices and adopt the Western outlook on life which was largely democratic. However it was not until the advent of the British and the establishment of their colonial government that democracy proper began to be known to the people of the country. It does not mean by that, that the British colonial government was synonymous with democracy but rather being the contrary. However, British democratic institutions had a remarkable influence on the Ceylonese in spite of Ceylon possessing an inferior political status.

Western education helped the Ceylonese to learn about the progress of the West and be acquainted with the higher concepts of the rights of man and his liberties. Ceylonese young men who got a thirst for higher education travelled to Oxford, Cambridge and London to be instructed in the philosophies, arts and sciences of the West. Others went to the inns of the British courts of justice to learn the systems of law and apply those principles in their own country as well and give the ordinary man the benefits of a fair trial in a court of law.

Of the Western educated Ceylonese the most remarkable were those young men who developed a flair for political and social science. They were thrilled with the study of the French revolution and the general repercussions it had on Europe.

The progress of the Soviet Union also caught their fancy. Filled with radical ideas they returned to Ceylon to fight for political emancipation and free the people from colonial domination. They entered the legislature as elected representatives of the people and constituted a permanent opposition to the government. They cried against British imperialism and demanded political independence. The Indian independence movement had a great influence on those Ceylonese and they were not content to have anything less than full independence.

The Ceylonese unlike the Indians were given a proper training for self government by the British with two reformed constitutions, viz., the Donoughmore constitution of 1931 and the Soulbury constitution of 1946. The elected leaders of the people were able to get a hang of the business of responsible government. The people though very illiterate and ignorant, were given an opportunity to experiment with universal franchise. Until the advent of the Soulbury constitution elections were decided on the social prestige of the candidate, his religion and his attitude to the electorate. The Soulbury constitution gave rise to elections on a party basis and was responsible for strengthening the party basis in Ceylon. The people are beginning to understand party government now and take an interest in the policy of each party instead of the private life of the candidate.

Under the existing constitution Ceylon is allowed full responsible government and can decide its own foreign policy. The country is governed by a parliament and cabinet. The Parliament consists of two houses. The lower house is known as the House of Representatives and the upper house as the Senate. Ninety-five representatives are elected to the House of Representatives every five years on a party basis. A further six representatives are nominated by the Governor-General to represent unrepresented groups and communities making a total of 101. The Senate consists of 30 nominated members. The leader of the majority party in the House of Representatives or the person commanding the greatest confidence of the house is appointed Prime Minister by the Governor-General. The Prime Minister in turn appoints his cabinet from among the members of Parliament. The cabinet at present consists of about 13 ministers. Two ministers as a rule are selected from the Senate.

The people of the country look upon the Parliament and the Cabinet System of Government with great favour. But having been reared in the colonial system of government wherein the government was omnipotent they look to the government to do most things for them—like provide employment, build houses and supply what is deficient. Initiative and enterprise for every large scheme are left to the government. Those who ply their own trades and occupations by themselves are the unenlightened landowning peasants and the enterprising capitalists consisting mostly of Europeans, Indians, Pakistanis and a few Ceylonese. The number of enterprising Ceylonese capitalists is growing and replacing the Indians and Pakistanis gradually. The intermediary population between the landowning peasants and the capitalist entrepreneurs is greatly attracted by socialist doctrines but all do not have a clear idea of the socialist systems the way Britishers do, in that production should be socialised. Want of capital and want of land make them lean towards socialism. The pattern of society is however not tending to be socialist. Life is a big race with intense competition and only the fittest survive. Sweeps, gambling for high stakes have a universal appeal, indicating the partiality towards wealth and capitalism.

There is no strong advocacy for private enterprise in the European or American sense. Excluding the system of political democracy there is no proper understanding of the importance of free democratic institutions for growth of real democracy in

ordinary life. People suffer from an excess of statism and government. The bureaucracy is held in high esteem and the ordinary man feels himself unimportant unless he is a bureaucrat. But recent growth of rural development societies has inculcated in the people an idea of self help and co-operative effort. Village folk have banded themselves into rural development societies and build roads, schools and assist each other in many ways. These societies have given new life to the rural folk and have taught them how to make their life useful to each other.

A shade of totalitarianism, inevitable in a country with a history of colonialism, still pervades the country with its state industries, state housing schemes and a preponderance of state activities and state employment in many directions. Education is to a great extent state controlled and state financed. The university and almost every school in the island are financed by the state and with a new policy of free education adopted in recent years, education has largely become a state concern. Private enterprise is poor and private investment and joint stock investment are not sufficiently extensive. The best fields of private investment are the rubber, tea and coconut industries. Bus transport is also under private control and in the hands of Ceylonese entrepreneurs. The railways and electricity supply are state managed. A commission investigated the operation of the state industries and reported that they should be taken over by private corporations. A commission investigated the road passenger transport industry and has recommended that inefficient bus companies should be taken over by private corporations. The tendency is therefore to expand private enterprise. Democracy and private enterprise have to assert themselves in Ceylon and they may be said to be in some sort of melting pot now. The progressives in Ceylon and the Commonwealth are hoping for something new and bright in democracy.

REORGANISATION OF INDIAN STATES

THE States Reorganisation Commission of India was appointed in December, 1953, by the Government of India to examine "the whole question of reorganisation of the States of India, objectively and dispassionately so that the welfare of the people of each constituent unit as well as of the nation as a whole is promoted." The Commission, which was headed by Mr. Fazl Ali, a former judge of the Supreme Court, Pandit Hirdaya Nath Kunzru, M.P., and Sardar Panikkar, former Ambassador in Peking and Cairo, published its report on October 10.

It recommends the formation of 16 new states in India including Kashmir, from the present 27 states with three centrally administered "territories" of Delhi, Manipur and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The North East Frontier Agency will continue to be administered by the Centre under the present arrangement.

The new states proposed are: Madras; Kerala; Karnataka; the residue state of Hyderabad shorn of its Kannada and Marathi-speaking areas; Andhra; Bombay, including Saurashtra, Kutch and Marathwada area of Hyderabad; Vidarbha, comprising eight Marathi-speaking districts of the present Madhya Pradesh; Madhya Pradesh (not to be called Mahakoshal) consisting of the remaining Hindi-speaking districts of the present Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal, Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat with its capital at Jabbalpur; Rajasthan; enlarged Punjab taking in PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh; Uttar Pradesh; Bihar; West Bengal; Orissa; Assam, including Tripura; and Jammu and Kashmir.

Among the 16 states, Karnataka and Vidharba would be two new states. Vidharba will consist of the Marathi-speaking districts

of Madhya Pradesh. It will have an area of a little under 37,000 sq. miles and population of a little more than 7½ million. The new state of Karnataka will consist of the present state of Mysore, excluding certain portions of the Bellary district; four Kannada-speaking districts of Bombay, excluding one taluq of Belgaum district; Raichur and Gulbarga districts of Hyderabad; the territory of Coorg; South Kanara district of Madras minus one taluq and one taluq of Coimbatore district of Madras. The new state would have an area of 72,700 sq. miles and a population of 19 million.

The Commission recommends removal of existing constitutional disparities between Part "A" and "B" states and the institution of Rajpramukhs is proposed to be abolished. The future of Pondicherry state is left to be determined by the Centre. Part "C" states will disappear. In respect of Himachal Pradesh, Kutch and Tripura, however, the Commission has recommended that the Central Government should retain supervisory power for a specified period to maintain their present pace of development.

The new Madhya Pradesh will be the largest state in the Union in area and Kerala the smallest. In respect of population Uttar Pradesh will remain the largest and Vidarbha the smallest unit. Bombay and Punjab will be the only bi-lingual states.

Union of the residue state of Hyderabad (Telengana) with Andhra is proposed if the State's Legislature favours this by a two-thirds majority after the 1961 elections. Ultimate merger of Manipur with Assam is also visualised. The states of Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Bombay and Hyderabad would undergo extensive territorial changes and the states of Bhopal, Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat would be among those which would disappear. The states of Uttar Pradesh and Orissa would remain as they are. The Commission has made no recommendations about Jammu and Kashmir.

The new state of Punjab would include states of PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh but the Central Government would retain its powers of supervision over Himachal Pradesh for a specified period. The new state would have an area of a little more than 58,000 sq. miles and a population of more than 17 million. The reorganised state of Madhya Pradesh after transfer of Marathi-speaking districts of Vidharba would have a population of a little over 26 million and a territory of a little over 171,000 sq. miles which would include 14 districts of the present state of Madhya Pradesh, the whole of Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh and the whole of Madhya Bharat with some exceptions. The Commission has suggested Jabbalpur as the Capital of Madhya Pradesh. The new state of Bombay would be without Kannada-speaking districts to be transferred to Karnataka but would include Saurashtra, Kutch and five Marathi-speaking districts of Hyderabad. The Central Government would retain its powers of supervision over Kutch for a specified period. The new state would have a population of more than 40 million and an area of more than 151,000 sq. miles. The state of Kerala would consist of the present state of Travancore-Cochin minus five taluqs to be transferred to Madras. But it would include the Malabar district of Madras (including Fort Cochin and Laccadive islands) and a taluq of the South Kanara district. Its area would be nearly 15,000 sq. miles and its population a little over 13½ million.

The primary of national interest rather than administrative units within the Union has been sought to be strengthened by the Commission. The report emphasises that proposals for reorganisation can only be regarded "as providing the necessary adjustments to remove tensions and to enable the Union to function more effectively." Linguistic homogeneity, educational and cultural needs of different language groups, administrative convenience and economic viability are among the main considerations taken into account by the Commission in formulating its proposals.

The concept of communal or historical "home-lands" such as the Akalis demanded has been firmly rejected as this offends against the very basis of the Indian Constitution. The theory of "one language, one state" has also been repudiated. On the other hand where balance of economic, administrative and political considerations permitted the Commission has favoured a composite state as in Bombay, Punjab and Assam.

A number of safeguards have been recommended to cement the unity of India and combat parochial sentiments that might develop

in unilingual areas. Among the former are proposals to constitute All-India cadres for engineering, forestry, medical and health services as well as for recruitment of 50 per cent of all new entrants in All-India services from outside the state concerned. Appointment of a third of High Court Judges of each state from outside that state is also urged. Another proposal relates to the constitution of common public service commissions for more than one state.

Retention of English in Universities for some time even after the official adoption of Hindi and other regional languages is suggested in the interests of maintaining educational standards. In order to equalise regional development the Commission has proposed creation of special development boards for certain backward areas, establishment of a permanent body to examine grievances of alleged neglect of certain areas and formulation of industrial location policy for the entire country.

Safeguards for minority groups include constitutional recognition

on the right of linguistic minorities to have instruction in their mother tongue at primary school stage and revision of domicile rules in some states which operate against non-residents of that state.

The Commission's report is unanimous except in regard to two areas, namely, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. While the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. S. Fazl Ali, has recommended that Himachal Pradesh should be directly administered by the Centre, two other members, Pandit H. N. Kunzru and Sardar K. M. Panikkar have suggested that it should be merged with Punjab.

In regard to Uttar Pradesh, the Chairman and Pandit Kunzru have recommended that the existing unit should continue while Sardar K. M. Panikkar has suggested breaking up of the state and creation of a new unit called the state of Agra, consisting of Agra, Rohilkhand and Jhansi divisions (minus Dehra Dun and Pilibhit districts) plus Datia and four northern districts of Madhya Bharat with Agra as its capital.

ELECTIONS IN INDIA A THOUSAND YEARS AGO

By S. N. Vyas (New Delhi)

AFTER the noise and confusion of present-day elections with all the ill-will and malpractices that come in their train, it might be interesting to compare them with the elections that were conducted peacefully in the village communities of India about a thousand years ago.

At that period the villages in India were autonomous units, governed by *sabhas* or assemblies, the membership of which was drawn from the village population as a whole. These assemblies were in turn divided into several executive committees which carried on the day-to-day administration of the village. The method of election to these committees and their working has been vividly described in two famous inscriptions at Uttaramallur village in Tamil India which are believed to belong to the tenth century A.D.

For purposes of election, the village was divided into 30 wards or electoral units. The residents of each ward would assemble together in a meeting at which each of them was required to write down on a slip of paper the name of the candidate he desired to vote for, bearing in mind the candidate's eligibility for membership as defined by the regulations framed by the assembly. The voting slips thus received were made into a packet for each of the 30 wards, bearing the name of the ward it represented. These packets were deposited in a pot which was placed before the full meeting of the village assembly, presided over by the eldest priest of the village. The priest would then hold aloft the pot in full view of the assembly and ask a child, who knew nothing of the contents of the pot, to come forward and pick out one of the packets. The voting slips of the packet would be given a thorough churning and then transferred to another empty pot. The child then drew one slip out of the latter pot and gave it to the *madhyastha* or arbitrator. The candidate whose name appeared on the slip was declared elected his ward.

Today, this procedure might seem clumsy, but it had its good points. Obviously, the people in general took a vital and direct interest in the election, witnessing with their own eyes the entire process involved. Every person had the

right to nominate his choice, which meant universal franchise in its true spirit.

It will, however, be contended that the final selection was governed by the mechanical or fortuitous method of casting lots, unlike the present form of voting by ballot and the resultant elimination of candidates according to the number of votes secured by each. Nevertheless, as held by the well-known historian, Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, it should be noted that the conditions of eligibility for membership, rigid and unexceptionable as they were, established to a considerable extent uniformity of competence and capacity among the prospective candidates, thereby leaving little for the voters to choose among them. Again, the method left no occasion for canvassing; party politics and other electioneering methods were thus avoided.

The question naturally arises as to what were the criteria governing the nomination of candidates for election. Broadly, the qualifications mainly concerned property, education, age and the practical capacity of the prospective candidate. He must own at least one-fourth of a *veli* (equivalent to about two acres) of tax-paying land and must have a house built on his own land. In the case of teachers of good Vedic learning or of *Smritis* (legal treatises) or philosophy, this qualification was, however, relaxed. It was considered that such persons were above want and could be trusted with public funds. The candidate had to be between 35 and 70 years of age, ensuring thereby that his judgment and outlook was mellow yet not too hidebound. Besides, the candidate was to be conversant with business, had to be virtuous, and should not have served on any of the committees for three years preceding the election. This last clause ensured an opportunity to all experienced and qualified residents of the village.

In order to maintain an effective control on their activities, persons who were found guilty of misappropriation of public funds were debarred from membership. Even their near relations were excluded from the right of membership, this being obviously intended to increase the volume of

public opinion against those who were guilty of defalcation of public funds.

Among other disqualifications were murder, addiction to intoxicating liquors, theft and adultery. Those who associated with undesirable people, or were foolhardy, or of loose morals, and those who had eaten forbidden dishes, committed forgery or ridden asses also lost their chance of becoming members. Even expiatory ceremonies, which otherwise removed religious disabilities, were regarded as insufficient to remove the civic and political disabilities of persons guilty of grave offences, social, political and moral. Thus the conditions of eligibility were a sufficient guarantee against the return of a really undesirable person, and the necessary eliminations they involved would leave little likelihood of any adverse result.

The persons selected at the village assembly were divided into six committees. The first committee was in charge of village gardens and orchards, the second supervised the village tank and the distribution of its water, and the third settled disputes among the village residents. The

fourth committee, known as Gold Committee, regulated the currency, and the fifth collected land revenue from the village tenants. Another committee, the Annual Committee, supervised the work of the other five committees. The membership of this Supervisory Committee was drawn only from the elders of the village who had previously served on other committees and had gained sufficient experience. Ordinarily, the life of the committees was for one year and the members held office in an honorary capacity. They could be removed even earlier if found guilty of misconduct.

Such in brief was the system of election and administration in the autonomous villages of ancient India in the early Middle Ages, when the emphasis was largely upon recruiting, as far as possible, scholars of good character and known rectitude to execute the important functions of local self-government. Some of the qualifications for election prevalent in those times, especially the age restrictions, the principle of membership by rotation and the emphasis on an unblemished character could perhaps be adopted with advantage even under modern conditions.

TAMING THE YELLOW RIVER

By Li Fu-tu (Peking)

(Deputy Director of the Yellow River Water Conservancy Commission)

HISTORY, folklore and legend in every part of the world are full of stories of man's fight against natural calamities.

From time immemorial, in their helplessness against the periodic disasters which have overtaken them, men have regarded such events as punishments from heaven. Some have cursed their gods, some have preached humility. But only when human progress has reached a certain stage can people see an end to these calamities; and only where the people are themselves in power can the fullest use be made of the power and the knowledge that now exist.

China's plan to tame the Yellow River, announced at the National People's Congress, is a tremendous illustration of man's new confidence in his ability to control the forces of nature. Three thousand miles long, with a catchment basin of 287,000 square miles, the Yellow River has been at once the most beneficial and the most destructive river in China. Its basin embraces 40 per cent. of all the cultivated land in the country, and nearly a third of the population lives there. It has rich deposits of coal, iron, copper, aluminium, oil and other minerals. But in the past three thousand years, it has burst its banks 1,500 times, always with attendant disaster. On 26 occasions—nine of them calamitous—the river has gouged itself out an entirely new channel to the sea.

The new plan, unlike all past plans, consists not of patching up the effects of these disasters but of tackling the cause—the constant rise in the river-bed at the lower reaches due to silt and the heavy rainfall in summer and autumn in the middle reaches.

The silt in the Yellow River comes from the middle reaches where it flows through a huge tract of fine loose soil—what geologists call "loess." The vast loess region here extends from eastern Chinghai province to the Taihang Mountains to the east and from the Great Wall to the Tsinling mountain to the south. Torrential rains and rivers have eroded the loess highlands for centuries, torturing the originally even plateau into bare, barren outcrops and great gullies or canyons, some a thousand feet deep. In Shensi province, where I was born, one can see a neigh-

bouring village, but may have to walk miles to get to it because of these immense clefts. The loess that goes down the river is good earth running to waste.

Recurrent droughts and the cruel exploitation by the landlords in pre-liberation days forced the peasants in these parts to clear the mountain slopes in order to bring new land into cultivation. But as soon as the trees and herbage were gone, erosion proceeded faster than ever. As the soil was washed away from the slopes, harvests became more and more scanty, and for decades the peasants had one thought: to get away and settle somewhere where they could make a decent living.

Origin of the Floods

When the Yellow River with its enormous load of silt enters the plain, precipitation becomes greater and greater and the river-bed gets higher and higher—to such an extent that in many places the water runs anything between ten and thirty feet above the surrounding countryside: what we call an "elevated river." At the Sanmen Gorge in Honan province an average of 1,380 million tons of silt flows by each year, enough to build a dyke one yard high and one yard wide that would encircle the equator more than twenty-three times.

Most of the year the climate in the middle reaches is rainless, but in July and August there is a veritable deluge. Half the year's rain falls in those two months, and nearly all this water drains into the tributaries and from there into the river. At one place in the middle reaches the average normal flow is about 286,000 gallons a second, but in the year of the most serious flood on record (1843), it increased to close on 8,000,000 gallons!

For thousands of years the people built huge dykes along the lower reaches. There are something like 1,200 miles of them, and as far as floods are concerned they are still the main defence. All through China's history public-spirited men have spent lifetimes fighting for a solution to the Yellow River problem. But the social and political conditions of their times created insuperable obstacles, and very little governmental support was forthcoming for any scheme which would help the people,

That remained true right up to the time China was liberated.

The story of my uncle, the late Li Yi-chih, one of China's foremost hydrographers, is typical. He was the first to point out that taming the Yellow River meant starting with the middle reaches. But the Kuomintang government took no notice. The year 1929 saw a great drought in Shensi and Kansu provinces, and Li decided to build the Chinghui Irrigation System to bring the waters of the Ching (a tributary) to the parched fields of Shensi province. It was not easy; the Kuomintang was not prepared to spend funds on it, and he was continually at odds with corrupt local officials who tried to monopolize the water to irrigate their opium crops! He would never have succeeded except for the financial help he received from overseas Chinese in Honolulu.

In the People's Hands

From 1946 onwards, as area after area along the river valley came into the hands of the people's forces, the Communist Party and the government in the liberated regions began to organise the fight against this natural enemy. The people rallied to the slogan: "Keep the river within its dykes! Do not allow it to change its course!" Temporary measures of all kinds were adopted to keep the river under control while the Kuomintang was being driven out.

Then, in 1949, the People's Republic of China was declared. The whole river became the object of intensive work. Thousands upon thousands of people were organised into flood prevention teams every year—in 1949 alone 400,000 peasants, working alongside men in the armed forces, manned the dykes for a solid month until that year's flood danger was passed. Since that time, the whole 1,200 miles of crumbling, hole-riddled dykes have been repaired—a job which has taken 170 million cubic yards of earth. Trees and grasses have been planted to hold the banks together. In Honan and Shantung provinces, new flood-retarding areas have been created. Thanks to these and other measures, in the whole nine years since 1946, the river has not once burst its dykes.

But the fundamental problem, the finding of a way to tame the river for all time, remained. The Central People's Government therefore began work on an overall plan. The new scheme which has now been published is the result of six years' work by surveyors, geologists, architects, hydrologists and experts of many kinds, including a group of top-level engineers from the Soviet Union.

Comprehensive Plan

The plan, as approved by the National People's Congress, is in two parts: a long-term comprehensive programme, and a "first phase plan."

The long-term programme calls for the building on the middle reaches of 44 dams adapted to special needs, and two more irrigation dams on the lower reaches. These dams will create a series of gigantic "steps." Four of the 44 dams have the multiple functions of flood-prevention, irrigation and power generating. Most of the silt will be stopped at the source by 24 other dams on the main tributaries in the middle reaches.

Completion of the plan will mean four stupendous changes. First, floods will be no more. The course of the river will be deep and fixed, the flow regulated so as never to exceed what can safely be carried by the river-bed. Secondly, power stations will generate 23 million kilowatts, with an annual output of 110,000 million kilowatt hours—ten times the national output of 1954—providing cheap power for industry, agriculture, communications and transport. Thirdly, the irrigated area will be nearly ten times

as large as now. And fourthly, the whole river will be navigable.

The long-term programme also includes water and soil conservation in the loess region on an enormous scale. Besides preventing erosion, silting up of the bed and flooding in the lower reaches, this will lead to undreamt-of improvements in agriculture, stock-breeding and forestry on the loess lands.

Immediate Measures

The whole plan will take decades to carry out in full. But some things have to be dealt with at once—flood prevention, irrigation, and the use of the river for generating power. That is why the Planning Commission has drawn up the subsidiary "first-phase plan" of work, to be completed by 1967.

During this first phase two huge dams will be built on the main river and many smaller ones for silt detention on its tributaries. Alongside of this will go the reinforcement of dykes, scientific cropping, afforestation, the construction of thousands of small dams, ditches and sluices, and similar work.

The two big dams are to be at Sanmen Gorge in Honan province—the last huge gorge before the river enters the North China plains—and at Liukia Gorge in Kansu province.

The Sanmen Gorge dam will be 297 feet high, with a reservoir able to store 7,923,600 million imperial gallons, second only to that at Kuibyshev in the Soviet Union. Work on it will start in 1957 and it should be finished by 1961. The reservoir alone, it is estimated, will be capable of reducing the heaviest imaginable flow on the Yellow River from 8,183,690 gallons per second to 1,769,760 gallons per second—a rate at which it can safely flow into the sea through the narrow channels in Shantung province. If extraordinary floods should occur simultaneously at this gorge, on the tributaries and on the Yellow River itself to the east, the locks at the Sanmen Gorge Reservoir could be closed to retain all the waters from above for four days; this, coupled with the flood-detention measures on the tributaries, can guarantee the safety of the lower reaches. At both the Sanmen and Liukia gorges, million-kilowatt power stations will generate a total of 9,800 million kilowatt-hours every year. The first ten years' revenue from the power output will far exceed the fifteen years' total investment in the Yellow River project.

The Work Begins

Preparatory work is now in full swing. Fifteen hundred people are working hard to finish the surveying work for Sanmen Gorge before the year is out, so that the actual blueprints for the dam, on which we shall also be getting Soviet help, can be drawn up. Several provinces have made their own local plans, and a certain amount of preparatory work on tributaries of the Yellow River is also complete.

Water and soil conservation are very important for the Sanmen Gorge scheme. Once this is carried out, floodwater and silt will be under control, eliminating the menace to the lower reaches, whereas if the soil were not checked the reservoir would be filled with silt in about 25 years, and the whole effect of the dam would be lost. We are confident that we can make the water and soil conservation work so effective that the reservoir will be good for 70-100 years.

The whole country, government and people, are behind this stupendous Yellow River plan. In the past there were a host of sayings about the river: It was "China's Sorrow" and "It will never run clear till a sage is born." "When the Yellow River runs clear" was a synonym for "never." Six years from now when the Sanmen Dam is completed, the water in the lower reaches will already be clear. It is not a sage who is going to turn "China's Sorrow" into "China's Joy," but the people themselves.

JAPAN'S COTTON MILL GIRLS

By Geoffrey Bownas

If you visit any of the rural districts of northern and central Japan in the spring, you will see a group of peasant girls, who have just finished their final education at a secondary school, standing at a railway station platform, and bidding farewell to their parents, whose hard life they have determined to make easy by sending money from the cotton mills for which they are now setting off. This innocent and filial aspiration on the part of the girls has been fostered not only by the traditional family system, tightened by the severe life of the fields, but also by their secondary school itself, which, for a while before their graduation, has been decorated with colourful posters of the cotton mills, bearing such attractive slogans as "Complete Facilities For Your Welfare," and "Clean Dormitory, and Beautiful Factory." They have been told as well dream-like stories in gorgeous colour by itinerant agents for the mills: they could sleep in a bed of superior quality, learn flower arrangement and cookery, and save money to buy a sewing-machine, and a cabinet—all on top of their monthly remittance to their parents. In short, culture and abundance would be assured for them all.

The Japanese cotton industry has for a long time relied on a sort of recruiting officer for securing a sufficient supply of labour. This elaborate system of recruitment as well as the mill dormitory has been the root of the semi-feudal labour relations in the cotton industry. The recruitment itself was prohibited by the Labour Exchange Act which was largely based on a GHQ recommendation of 1947. Yet it was only to be expected that this ban on the long established system by which cheap and intensified labour had been employed to keep going the Japanese cotton industry and to secure the world market, would soon be ignored and then flagrantly contravened. This has been the fate of other laws which have challenged the domination of powerful interests. When Japan's Lancashire sought to regain its old prestige, it was not surprising that it should have tried to maintain the system intact, and even made an attempt to exert its influence in the labour exchange and the secondary school, the other two means for securing a supply of labour. The latter in particular quickly assumed the function of a recruiting agency. A school-master, it was reported, called on the factory manager of a nearby spinning mill with a present from the school as an acknowledgement to the mill that had employed so many girls from the school, implicitly asking him the same favour for the following year. In the same vein, there was a mill that was good enough to employ an ex-principal of a school as its recruiting agent. The employers found in the schools an excellent means for discovering the family background of the applicants, for it was openly declared that a girl from a destitute family might easily get into "dangerous thought." The Japanese cotton mills employ a girl not as an individual but through her family, and a school would serve as the link between girl and mill.

In July, 1951, when an enquiry was made into the degree of frustration suffered by the 215 girls in a certain mill, more than four-fifths of them answered that the high-sounding promises given them by the recruiting officers were nothing more than propaganda lies.

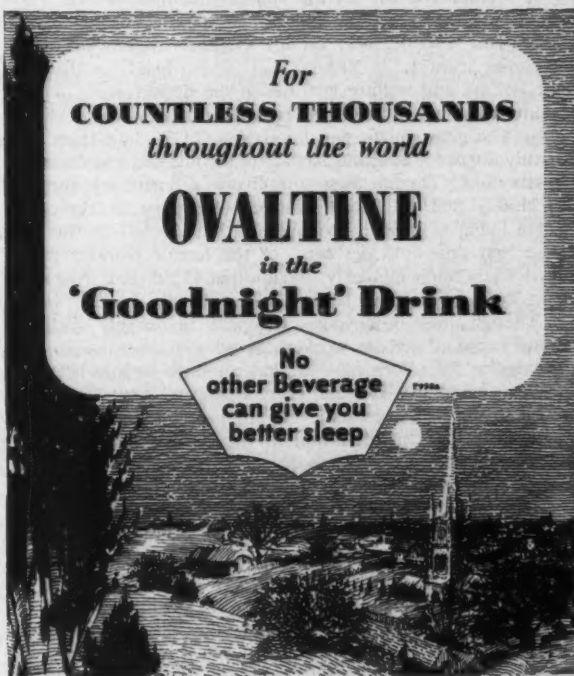
What was it that disillusioned these girls, and led them to give such an answer? This is the main theme of Chitose Shimazu's* admirable book, which is studded with recent statistics of the Japanese cotton industry. The book is valuable, although its statistical presentation sometimes creates more confusion than clarification. The generous display of the author's knowledge of political economy is well counter-balanced by a detailed account of the day-to-day life of the mill-girls, which is much more appealing than any imposing display of technical terms.

The number of textile workers in Japan was estimated at 976,000 in December, 1951, and the ratio of the number of women to that of men employed by ten big spinning companies was 79.1 per cent. in May, 1952. These data though not well arranged by the author, tell how much the cotton kings of Japan have depended for their very existence upon female labour. The inferior status of women in society, the semi-feudal family system, half-starving peasant life—all have contributed to the creation of an abundant supply of cheap and docile labour, whose hours of work could safely be extended to a physical maximum. In fact, the mill-girls' working day was twelve hours in a double shift system until 1929, the year when night work was forbidden, so that the industry might weather the great depression. After the war, the passing of the Labour Standards Act

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Women Workers. Japan's Cotton Mills After The War by CHITOSE SHIMAZU (Tokyo: Iwanami) (in Japanese).

has brought an improvement, and largely because of pressure from the trade unions, and the anxious vigilance of foreign labour and capital, an eight hour day, in double shift, has become the rule—at least, to outward appearance: in fact, there were recorded 19,535 cases of offences against the regulation in the course of 1951 alone. It need hardly be added that the girls are never happy under the double shift working, — the one from 5.0 a.m. to 1.45 p.m., and the other from 1.45 to 10.30 p.m. (each including 45 minutes for meals)—for they argue that it shuts them off from a full enjoyment of a healthy and civilised life. Yet the mill managers repeat the old excuse that the double-shift system is a work of charity, planned to alleviate the distress suffered by the over-populated rural districts.

The mill-owners, however, took their revenge. They grasped every chance to make the work of the girls heavier and harder. The destruction of the war was a good excuse to draw more work from a relatively smaller number of girls. The productivity of labour was greatly increased, despite the fact that the cheap labour delayed the modernisation of obsolete machinery for a few years. When the Korean War broke out, the mill managers knew how to put the coming prosperity to its full use. By 1950, the amount produced per mill-girl had surpassed that of 1937, the highest figure attained in the years before the war. From 1950 to 1951, the Japanese cotton industry recovered completely from its war damage. Then the 1952 recession led to the discharge of a number of girls, and again, to extremely intensified work for those who remained. One mill-girl said, "Every day, I walk 32 kilometres, attending to a machine."

The notoriety of the cheap labour in the Japanese cotton industry has been blurred by the dormitory system with which the industrialists claim to subsidize the low wages of their mill-girls. In July 1952, the average wage earned by the female workers employed by ten big spinning companies was 7,394 Yen (£7 8s. 0d.) a month, while their male colleagues earned 16,380 Yen (£16 7s. 6d.) on an average. Meanwhile, these companies spent 1,573 Yen (£1 11s. 6d.) a head for the girls, for boarding and welfare facilities in the dormitories. (This is a monthly average for the three months from January to March, 1952). The girls had to pay 1,350 Yen (£1 7s. 0d.) from their monthly wages for boarding, on top of income tax, and insurance contributions. Though these girls live in a dormitory, they are still closely tied with their families, struggling to eke out a meagre living in a remote village. In March 1951, it was estimated that about 45 per cent. of the female workers in the industry sent home regularly, and another 45 per cent. irregularly about 2,000 Yen (about £2 0s. 0d.) from their monthly wages.

Though their low wages compare favourably with the average wage of female workers of all industries, which was estimated at 5,956 Yen (£5 19s. 0d.) a month in July 1952, the dormitory remained, as it had been, a paternal institution which prevented the girls from achieving any independent status. The industrialists paid no attention to the GHQ recommendation which proposed that semi-feudal relations be abolished, and that only those who lived in their private houses be employed. The Labour Standards Act, apparently sponsored by GHQ, did however, make provision to protect the private life of the girls in their dormitories. Japan did, after all, go through a period of democratisation after the war. The period was brief, and the effect was not far-reaching. Yet the "democratisation of dormitories" became one of the main concerns of the girls and their unions, who demanded the removal of the autocratic house-keepers. A "self-governing" committee was formed in most of these dormitories: but unfortunately, these committees were promoted more often than not by the companies themselves, and some of them became simply a sort of company

union. Recently, it was alleged, the house-keepers assumed a new function, that of inspectors of the girls' thought. Their letters were opened. A "dangerous" girl confessed that she was not allowed to read a book in a dormitory!

New model dormitories have been built, and their spacious halls, clean dining rooms, well-equipped hospitals, libraries and recreation grounds attracted the eyes of visiting foreigners, and helped to assure them that the Japanese cotton industry had no vicious intentions of cutting prices by means of cheap labour. But these are merely models, at least for the moment, and the majority of the girls are still living in old houses, and give a disillusioned answer to any questions about their welfare. And this disillusion is further increased by their life in the factory, where it is much more difficult to introduce democratic practice. The foremen are almost always disliked by the girls, and with good reason.

The girls may come from peasant families, but their factory life makes them industrial workers, and there is a stirring in their minds, a move for independence. One of the girls wrote, "Why have I to bear injustice, without raising any protest? Simply because I am a poor girl?" Another said, "I don't like to take a bus just outside the factory gate. I can't stand the snobbery of the passenger who looks down on me as a mill-girl." But sometimes, this desire for independence is carried too far. More than two-fifths of the 257 girls in one mill wanted to become fashion-designers, and two of them wanted to go to America. Education is a step on the way to independence, and nearly four-fifths of the dormitories attached to the ten big companies have established schools in which tailoring, and even some English, are taught to the girls.

Only a few pages at the end of the book are spared for an account of the textile unions, but we do at least get some glimpse of the girls' aspirations for independence—this time something more real than a desire to go to America. In June, 1946, the 175,000 workers of the "Big Ten" organised themselves into ten separate unions, and by 1948, these unions had formed a national federation. In June, 1952, the trade union membership among the textile workers was reported as 336,251, including 269,000 girls—about four-fifths of the total membership—and the ratio of the organised to the unorganised workers was 46 per cent. This numerical strength, on the other hand, is somewhat deceptive. In September, 1947, some disorders came to light in a factory of the Dainippon Boseki Kaisha and an investigation committee of the National Railway Workers' Union asked a girl, "What do you think of your union?"—"I don't know much about it."—"Don't you know what a trade union is?"—"Isn't it for the company?"—"What makes you think so?"—"I'm not at all clear about it, but anyway, there are many of the company bosses in our union."

In December 1951, the National Federation of Textile Workers' Unions declared their first strike after a month's unsuccessful wage negotiations, and 180,000 workers walked out, only to return a few days later when the companies agreed to accept a third of the workers' demands. The gap between the leaders and the rank and file is still wide, but the author of this book hopes that the rank and file, the girls, might soon be trained to become active unionists, and to help to reform their unions, which at the moment tend to be too acquiescent in the desires of their employers.

And one is inclined to add that one of the most reasonable measures that our own Lancashire might take, to safeguard itself against Japanese competition, would be to assist these mill-girls in their efforts to establish powerful trade unions. A move of this nature might serve to protect the livelihood of both—the Japanese, and the Lancashire mill-girl.

LONDON NOTEBOOK

Thai Students

The problem of accommodation is one of the chief worries of students from foreign countries who come to Britain to join the various universities and technical colleges. The number of overseas students seems to grow with each succeeding term and this year we gather that there will be more foreign students in Britain than ever before. The university hostels and the different student organisations in London and other cities are not able to take in more than a small proportion of them, so that the majority have to make their own arrangements for boarding and lodging. The search for "digs" can be difficult and frustrating and even when a student succeeds in getting a room, the accommodation is in the majority of cases unsuitable for his studies or for social intercourse with other students or the British people.

One of the ways of tackling this situation is for the respective foreign governments to build hostels for their students in this country. An ideal solution would be something on the lines of the *Cité Universitaire*, the international students' quarter in Paris, where a good proportion of the overseas students in France live in an international atmosphere, different governments have each contributed a hostel building.

In the matter of accommodation, Thai students in Britain are luckier than most others. The Thai Government Students' Office (TGSO), established this summer, will look after the welfare of Thai students in general in this country. There are about a thousand students from Thailand, the number being nearly five times what it was just after the war. Of these some 850 are Government scholars, and it is with them that the TGSO is mainly concerned. The activities of this students' office were formerly carried out by the Thai Embassy in London, but with the present large number of students, the small staff of the embassy found the task difficult. The TGSO building in Knightsbridge houses a small hostel which serves as a transit camp for students just arriving, until accommodation is found for them with a suitable British family. It is one of the policies of the TGSO not to send students to boarding houses, where they are likely to be lonely and also miss the opportunity of understanding the English way of life.

Only a small proportion of Thai students in Britain are in London. The TGSO encourages them to study in one of the provincial cities rather than in London, where the social life of students is in many ways inadequate. London students, however, have better facilities than those in the provinces for maintaining contact with Thai culture. Thai students in London, however, do not have a Thai restaurant, although there are restaurants of many other Asian nationalities in the city. Thai food is one of the things that students from Thailand miss most in Britain.

Majlis Mela

The beginning of the academic year saw a new spurt of social activity in London's student world. Majlis Mela, the annual festival of Indian students has become a unique feature of London life. This year's was on a larger scale than the three previous "melas" and included certain new features like a concert, a speakers' contest, a singing competition and a symposium (on Planning and National Reconstruction in India). A large number of Britons and people of many other nationalities attended the two-day celebrations at the Holborn Hall and many of them had their first introduction to Indian sweets and the art of chewing "pan." They were also treated to performances of Indian music and to a demonstration of Kathak dancing by the Nepalese-born dancer, Sitaria Devi. The Mela was inaugurated on October 1 evening by Mrs. Pandit, who set a new precedent for Indian functions with a remarkably short speech. She did not see a virtue in the Indians' love of long speeches, but Mr. Sidney Silverman, the Labour M.P., who spoke after her, disagreed with Mrs. Pandit and said it was a sign of the interest that Indians had in public affairs.

Chinese Anniversary

October 1 was the sixth anniversary of the People's Republic of China, and was marked by a brilliant reception at the Embassy given to over 1,500 guests by the Charge d'Affaires, Mr. Huan Hsiang.

Chinese students in London celebrated the day with a cultural programme at the Indian YMCA. The highlights of the evening were an address by Prof. Bernal of London University, a film show and a Chinese play "Between Husband and Wife" produced by Mr. Chang and Mr. Fung.

Chinese Colour Prints

The renaissance of Chinese art which has come with the new government of China is reflected on a small scale in an exhibition of colour prints at Collet's Bookshop and Gallery in Bloomsbury. Lovers of Chinese art in London have an opportunity of studying a number of fine works in reproductions which have lost little of the freshness and grace of the originals. The excellent quality of these prints is due to the special wood-block process which reproduces with greater fidelity than the mechanical offset or photo-engraving processes. This is a more elaborate and slow method, but Chinese craftsmen have so mastered it that its advantages cannot escape the notice of visitors to the exhibition. The apparent simplicity of the prints is deceptive. Prints, moderately priced, are introducing art into millions of ordinary homes in China today.

Nepal's Development

Nepal was described as a country with a great store of natural resources and undeveloped skills by Dr. Patrick C. Young, recently head of the Unesco Science Corporation Office for Burma, Ceylon, India and Nepal, when he recently addressed the East India Association and the Overseas League on the subject. "Nepal Re-opened." Water power from the Himalayas could be harnessed to develop the country generally and a fertile soil and rich mineral resources, if exploited fully, could bring great prosperity to the country. There was at present only a small hydro-electric power station, which supplied electricity to Kathmandu and adjacent towns, but there were plans in existence to tap the power of the Trisuli and the Kosi rivers. For these and other developments, however, huge sums of money were needed, which were now difficult to find. There was also a great lack of trained manpower, Dr. Young said. But Nepal was getting the assistance of various international organisations for preliminary work of development in many fields.

Referring to the economic difficulties of the Nepalese Government, Dr. Young doubted the wisdom of the advice of many foreigners to increase the country's revenue by raising new direct taxes. Such a move, he thought, would meet with violent opposition from the people and lead to a "disincentive to work." The solution, in his view, lay in the development of Nepal's natural resources through small-scale industries.

Letter to the Editor

"Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword"

Sir,—In reviewing Jean Stotzel's book *Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword* in your October issue was the reviewer, G.B., aware that his review was completely unintelligible? G.B. criticises Stotzel's conclusions, his use of Japanese language, his scope of investigation and his method, but the only clue we are given as to what the book is about is in the penultimate line of the review: "... youth, the main subject of the enquiry."

G.B. could have been scarcely more vague if his review was intended as a puzzle. Not having seen the book I would conclude that Stotzel could have been writing about anything from modern trends in the use of the Japanese language to the tendency to commit suicide among students in Japan. Perhaps the trouble is that the reviewer knows the subject too well, and he quite forgot that his review was intended to be read and understood. As it stands, the review instead of enlightening, simply irritates.

Yours faithfully,
T. H. HEAD.

Putney, London, S.W.15.

FROM ALL QUARTERS

Malaria Control

In a report on its past year's work in South-East Asia, the World Health Organisation (WHO) states that international malaria control programmes have brought protection from malaria to 105 million people—or two-fifths of the entire population of the region. Malaria strikes an estimated 300 million people each year, and about 3 million die of the disease.

In all, more than 100 health projects are being carried out in the area by WHO, or jointly by WHO and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). In addition to the malaria control programme they include BCG campaigns against tuberculosis, which are reported as making good headway though the problem is far from solved, and extensive campaigns against yaws, a disfiguring tropical disease, which are proving so effective that it is expected that the disease will cease to be a major health problem in the region by 1960.



This woman, lying in the open with a fever attack, was brought for treatment to the WHO anti-malaria team in the Terai Region in the foothills of the Himalayas, India.

Week of Mongolian Culture in Bulgaria

A week of Bulgaro-Mongolian Friendship and Mongolian Culture, organised in collaboration with the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic was celebrated in Bulgaria last month. It included performances by Mongolian concert artists in Sofia and several other towns. An important feature of the week was an Exhibition of Mongolian Graphic Art.

Indian Book Publishing

The Government of India is proposing to start large publishing houses all over India, according to a recent statement by Mr. Nehru. He said that it is intended to publish cheap editions of Indian classics and works on art in all the Indian languages. The first of the new publicly owned publishing houses was inaugurated by the Prime Minister last month.

Government in Exile

Formosans in Tokyo set up a Formosa "Government in exile" recently. Dr. Thomas W. I. Liao was elected President of the "provisional National Congress of Formosa." The Congress is composed of 24 members representing 24 cities and

prefectures of Formosa. During the inaugural meeting, a crowd of Nationalist Chinese supporters tried to force their way into the building but were driven off by the Formosans, who stoutly defended their territory. The Nationalists attacked with rotten eggs which they threw through the open windows, just missing Dr. Liao who was making his presidential speech. Dr. Liao described the foreign policy of the Provisional Formosa Government as being in favour of a pro-Japanese, anti-Communist Formosa under United Nations' protection and free from Nationalist Chinese. Dr. Liao, who lived for some time in America, left Formosa in 1947 when the Nationalists accused him of conspiracy. He fled to Shanghai then to Tokyo, where he was arrested in 1950 on the insistence of the Chinese Nationalists and spent seven months in prison.

Instruments to Track Gulf Tidal Mystery

Nearly £A.300 worth of sensitive equipment will be installed soon at Karumba, a small settlement in the south-east corner of the Gulf of Carpenaria, to help unravel the mysteries of the Gulf's unpredictable tides.

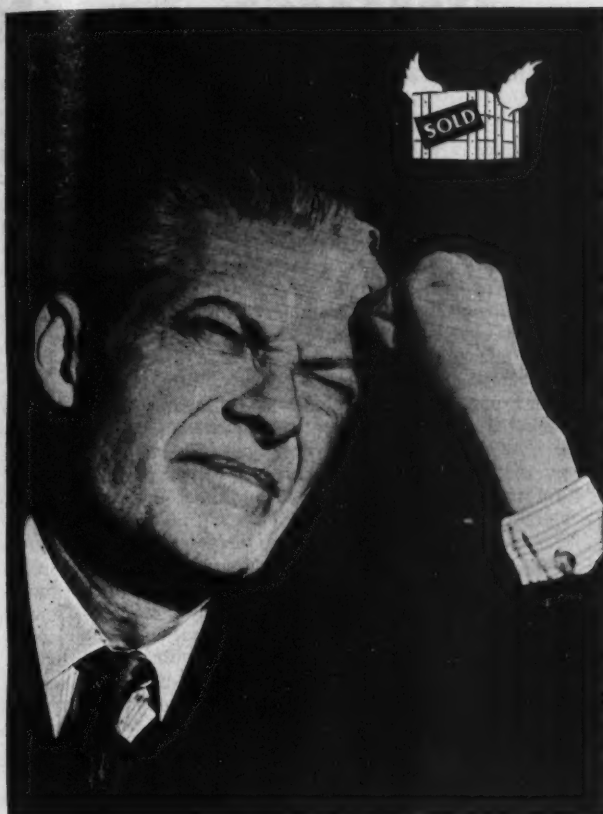
Unlike most parts of the Australian coast, the Gulf has only one tide a day, and even old residents can never predict accurately the time of high or low water. So far, automatic tide gauges have failed to solve the problem, so modern equipment has been imported from Britain. Its recordings each hour for a year will be sent to the Tidal Institute at Liverpool, in England, where experts will work out a reliable tides table for the Gulf of Carpentaria. It is known that the trade winds have some effect on strange tidal movements, so details of these will be registered also.

Afghan Statement

The following statement was issued by the Royal Afghan Embassy in London on 19 October: "The relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan deteriorated due to the arbitrary decision of the Karachi Government to impose the One Unit Scheme on the North-west Frontier Province, Baluchistan and the tribal areas contrary to their former pledge to the people of those areas that they will have their self-government and that the tribes will be independent. Those promises, given in 1947, were officially notified to the Afghan Government. The people of those areas were claiming their full freedom in their own state called Pakhtunistan.

During the last month, all political parties and masses of population expressed their resentment of the One Unit Scheme but Pakistan passed the bill of unification of the Western part of the country through the Constituent Assembly, which is not composed by direct elections. The Afghan Prime Minister proposed a meeting between him and the Pakistan Premier a few days back. While the Pakistan Government agreed to invite the Prime Minister of Afghanistan to Karachi for that meeting, they did not wait until that occasion and passed the bill of their One Unit Scheme.

The Afghan Government, as well as the people of Afghanistan, resented this measure and a joint session of the two houses of the Afghan Parliament was held on October 16 and 17, in which the Prime Minister of Afghanistan exposed the recent development and the diplomatic efforts of the Afghan Government regarding this matter. The Afghan Parliament unanimously confirmed their former decision and the policy of the Government to support fully the national cause of Pakhtunistan freedom."



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BOOKS on the F

The Sinhalese Folk Play by E. R. SARATHCHANDRA (Ceylon University Press, Rs. 15)

In Ceylon, as elsewhere, the rapid industrialisation of the village has meant that most folk plays have either disappeared completely or else have changed beyond recognition. Consequently, the work of documenting and even of discovering the genuine article has been so arduous that Dr. Sarathchandra has produced a work of lasting value, not only because it deals with a field which has hitherto been almost neglected but because he has studied the subject against the background of the Sinhalese village community, thus providing new and valuable material on Sinhalese village life and the particular social and cultural features.

Nothing has been left to casual surmise, since the author, over a period of fifteen years, has followed every clue which presented itself in his search for accurate information. He pays generous tribute to Paul Wirz's *Exorcismus und Heilkunde auf Ceylon*, which covered much of the religious background and left him free to devote his time to other regions not covered by Dr. Wirz.

The folk drama in Ceylon is closely interwoven with the structure of village life. It can be described as a by-product of those activities which are seriously directed towards the sustenance of the entire life of the community—to prevent disease, ward off evil, bring plentiful crops and confer general prosperity on the village. The other arts, too, are closely bound up, not only with each other, but also with the well-being of the village.

The life of the Sinhalese village is governed, not only by Buddhism, but by the folk religion as well, and a great part of the villagers' lives are ordered by beliefs and practices which are strictly non-Buddhist. This is an interesting point, for in comparison with other countries where Buddhism absorbed some of the earlier beliefs and practices, in Ceylon Buddhism allowed the people to go on with those practices which they found useful in everyday life, and persuaded them to turn to Buddhism for guidance in moral conduct and spiritual matters. Certain arts were encouraged, while others were frowned upon. In particular the "community" arts, such as music and drama—arts in which the artist draws his inspiration from live contact with the people and which are enjoyed in groups—these were discouraged. But as history has shown, this taboo had no serious effect on actual practice, and all public festivals and even Buddhist ceremonies were accompanied by dancing and music.

The culture of the Sinhalese village can be described as a two fold one—on the one hand there is the culture springing from the rituals of the folk religion, that is religious practices which fill the individuals' domestic life and the large-scale ceremonies which bring the community together. On the other hand, there is the culture emanating from Buddhism—a culture of an entirely different sort, which gave rise to a different kind of poetry and prose writing, distinguishable from local lore and legends which formed the material for folk poetry.

Dr. Sarathchandra has attempted most successfully to distinguish between those features in Sinhalese drama which arise from Buddhism and those which are rooted in rural beliefs. He suggests that the two forces were not co-ordinated but rather conflicted, and in order to resolve this conflict, which arose out of a difference in aim, folk cults were relegated to one plane where they were looked upon as aids in helping the people to understand natural phenomena and even to control them, whereas Buddhism was preserved on another plane—where it

FAR EAST

inspired the visual arts and the learned literary traditions. Influences, other than Buddhism have left their mark on the drama—Hindu, Roman Catholic, Parsee—and so on, and all these are discussed at length. In fact, the amount of careful research and detailed observations contained in this account make it a most valuable contribution to ethnological and social studies as well as to studies of the history of the drama. One hopes that it will have the wide readership which it deserves. Incidentally, it is well printed and suitably illustrated.

T. M. FERNANDO

To Whom She Will by R. PRAWER JHABVALA (Allen and Unwin, 15s.)

Although so widely separated by time and place, one is reminded, after reading this beautifully balanced novel, of Jane Austen. There is the same touching on hidden emotions, without becoming too involved or stirring up too much, the same interplay of entirely opposing personalities, each fulfilling a certain role, nothing is over stressed or overplayed. The style is delicate and clear—one need make no concessions, since Miss Jhabvala uses English in a personal and yet not idiosyncratic way—it does not seem at all bizarre or unorthodox. The New Delhi background is vivid and not obtrusive, and the characters are observed with a detached, ironic yet strangely sympathetic eye. The story is simple enough—a middle class Indian girl has the temerity to imagine that she is in love with a young man who belongs to a different social class. The machinations of the two families involved, and their plans for other more suitable connections are constantly being thwarted, until finally the situation is resolved in a manner that is acceptable to all concerned. A happy ending to an altogether enchanting book.

S. N. G.

Chinese Ancestor Worship in Malaya by LEON COMBER (Singapore: Donald Moore).

This small book gives evidence of devoted effort on the part of its author. Eager to discover for himself the meaning of ceremonial practice and religious belief of the Malayan Chinese, he amassed much material which he felt he might share with others who did not wish to dig into more exhaustive sources in other languages. The booklet is well illustrated and throughout the text authorities are given for all statements not otherwise supported. The work will serve to put the "griffin" right on many points at first puzzling.

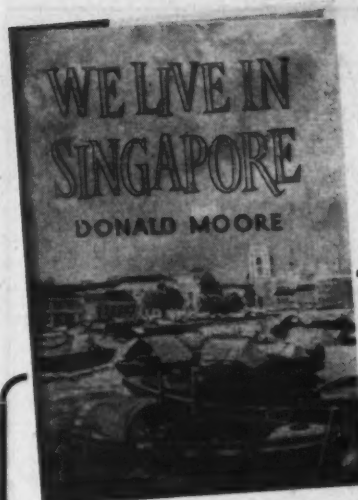
N. W.

A Handbook to India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, edited by SIR ARTHUR C. LOTHIAN (John Murray, 50s.)

As much a part of the traveller's luggage in India, as Baedeker is in Europe, Murray's Guide has for several generations been the kindly mentor and the unimpeachable cicerone to thousands who travelled in the sub-continent, whether as a duty, or for pleasure—for shooting and fishing or camping or for expeditions to centres of cultural interest.

This edition, the seventeenth, has now been revised where necessary and additional information brings it quite up to date. It gives plentiful data on road travel, and in addition to the many maps contained in the text there is one showing the internal air lines of the region. Apart from its inherent usefulness, it makes nostalgic bedside reading.

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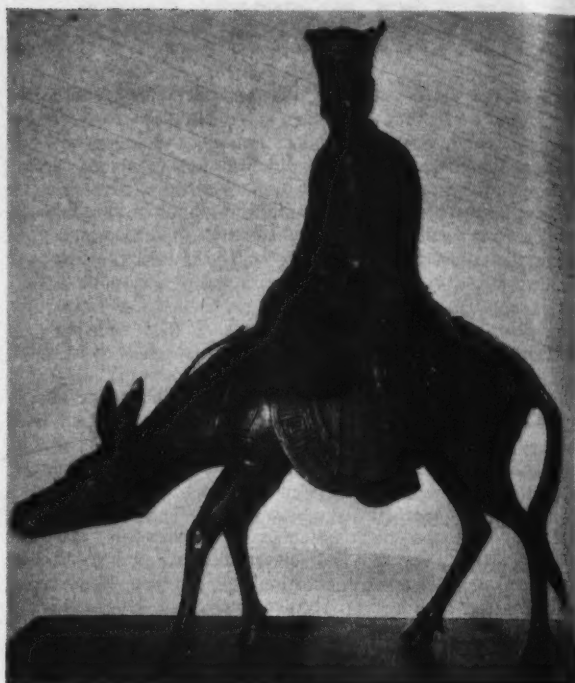
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Chinese bronze, 15th-16th Century, of Fu-shen, the God of Happiness riding a mule and clad in the robe of a mandarin. The two pieces are cast separately. A perfect example of the large-sized bronze statues of the Ming-period, rarely seen in European collections. Height : 140 cm. Collection: Hopp Museum, Budapest. (Illustration from "The Art of Asia")

The Art of Asia by TIBOR HORVATH (Budapest: Kultura, \$2.80)

The Francis Hopp Museum of Eastern Arts in Budapest contains a rich collection of masterpieces of Asian art, and reproductions of many of these treasures are here reproduced, many for the first time. Chinese art is represented by two archaic jade ceremonial objects from the Shang-Yin and Chou periods, Tsang and Sung Buddhist sculpture, Ming bronzes and Sung potteries. The Korean section includes ceramics a Silla bronze bowl and a Mahamayuri painting of the 17th century. A cross section, of Japanese art includes Buddha statues from the Fujiwara period, paintings from the 16th and 19th centuries and an interesting collection of wood cuts from Kiyonobu to Sharaku. Indian and Pakistani art is represented by sculpture, dating from the Gardhava era to the mediaeval Bengal-Bihar period and includes a magnificent head of Vishnu.

The author, now director of the Museum has spent several years in the Far East and his knowledge and experience have been responsible for this illuminating and careful work, which together with the illustrations which are lavish, provides a guide to the main phases of development of Asian art. The publishers are also to be congratulated on the excellent translation into English of the text and captions.

S. RADCLIFFE

Biography of Huang Ch'ao. Translated and annotated by HOWARD S. LEVY (University of California Press; London: Cambridge University Press, 15s.)

This is a translation from the New T'ang History, chuan 225 of the life story of the rebel Huang Ch'ao who, in 875 A.D.,

raised the revolt which effectively overthrew the dynasty and scattered the Imperial House of T'ang. A scholarly introduction sketches in the background and prepares the reader for the official account. Voluminous notes aid the reader in placing the many actors in the drama and three maps (in a pocket inside the back cover) illustrate the locale of the events. This biography is a worthy successor to the earlier volumes and should receive an equally warm welcome.

The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward by T. F. CARTER. Revised by L. C. GOODRICH (New York: Ronald Press Company, \$10)

In 1925 Professor Carter wrote what was to become the standard work on Chinese printing and book production. Searching the histories and tirelessly sifting innumerable scattered references to the art of paper-making, the technique of wood-block carving and allied subjects, he marshalled all his data and made a fascinating story of man's adventure in recording the written word.

The book has been long out of print. The late Professor Pethiot made researches into the subject and these have been issued among his *Oeuvres Posthumes*. Now Professor Goodrich has revised Carter's original work (keeping where possible the vivid style of the earlier book) and incorporated later discoveries. This new edition is an indispensable work for all interested in the history of printing. It is fully illustrated and documented, yet it is a romantic story of man's achievement.

NEVILLE WHYMANT

An Introduction to Japan by HERSCHEL WEBB (Columbia University Press, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege 22s.)

This handbook of Japan covers a wide field—it has chapters on history, government, economic life, social and cultural life, fine arts, literature and religion. Every chapter is packed with statistics, not all of them interesting or vital, or as topical as might be; only one per cent of the total mileage of Japan's highways, for example, is paved, and in 1949, there were less than 300,000 vehicles registered, two third of them trucks. But that was the time of the occupation, and the 1955 figures for registrations would show a marked increase. But some interesting facts are revealed by the figures: 267 parties entered candidates in the 1946 general election; on the basis of an average of 100 for the years 1934-46, the industrial production index in mid-1953 had arisen to 168; the main bulk of Japanese industrial enterprises operates with less than five workers.

There is a tendency to be pro-occupation, and in more than one context, the aims of occupation measures are stated in a way which suggests that the desired end was achieved, where, in fact, the measure failed completely. There are suggested reading lists at the end of each chapter, and—if only they were available to us also!—suggested information films.

G.B.

Colony of Singapore, Annual Report, 1954 (H.M. Stationery Office 9s.)

This informative book, being one in a series of Colonial Annual Reports published for the Colonial Office, gives documentation on every problem and aspect of the Colony of Singapore, together with appropriate illustrations, some of which are in colour, graphs and maps. It is introduced by a general survey devoted to the main problems of the colony during 1954, and succeeding chapters deal with various aspects of Singapore. It would be difficult to find a more detailed account on such important matters as mining, loans, rubber, finance, and so on, as well as on prisons, bicycles, birds and youth councils.

M.B.

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Soviet Tajikistan by PAVEL LUKNITSKY (*Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 9s.*)

Soviet Tajikistan lies between China and Afghanistan, just above Kashmir. It is a land of mountains and flourishing valleys covered with plantations of cotton and shady orchards abounding in apricot and peach trees. Centuries ago invasions by Greeks, Arabs, Mongols, and ancient trade routes from Europe to China and India caused an intermingling and interaction of different cultures.

Now, Soviet rule is firmly established, and the collectivisation of agriculture has begun. At the same time industrialisation of the region is being carried out; mines have been sunk and industrial plants built in the mountains. Soviet Tajikistan, says the author, has become an "outpost for socialism in the East." He gives a description of the development of the country under the Soviet system and describes the benefits he claims it has derived.

M.B.

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REVIEW OF REVIEWS

THE changes in Australian foreign policy influenced by recent events in South-East Asia are discussed by Norman D. Harper, Lecturer in History at the University of Melbourne, in an article in the September issue of *Pacific Affairs*, the journal of the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. A cynical Canberra newspaperman is quoted as commenting once that "the average Australian politician's attitude to foreign affairs is like the mediaeval attitude to hell. It is something he prefers not to think about but, when he does, he thinks in simple, stark and essentially naive terms." The Geneva settlement of the Indo-China problem and the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung, the writer points out, have, however, forced him reluctantly to re-examine the stark realities of the Asian situation and to reconsider the basic assumptions of Australian policy. The chief motivation of recent Australian policy in South-East Asia, the article explains, has been her fear of aggression from an Asian power, a fear, born largely out of Japan's part in the last war and heightened by the military strength of the New China and her claims on Formosa as well as by the recent developments in Indo-China. It was this fear that was responsible for her collaboration with Western powers in SEATO and other defence treaties and for her decision to send troops to Malaya, which was to Australia the most crucial area. At the same time Australia recognised that military measures alone were completely inadequate to deal with the problem of Communism and many Australians found an element of truth in Mrs. Pandit's quip that SEATO was "a South-East Asian alliance minus South-East Asia." From this point of view, Mr. Harper thinks that the Colombo Plan has been a significant event for Australia. It has not only assisted the advancement of the economically backward Asian countries, but it has also done a great deal to improve Australia's relations with them. The admission to Australia of Asian visitors under the Technical Co-operation plan has created a less unfavourable attitude on the part of Asians towards the country's immigration laws, which they had suspected of having a racist foundation.

Mr. Harper discusses some of the complexities of Australian

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Contributors to this issue: E. Barnitz, E. Beaglehole, M. Jahoda, O. Klineberg, W. Maslow, K. M. Miller, L. Moss, C. Sellitz, M. Brewster Smith, C. R. Wright.

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policies that have been noticed since the Bandung Conference, and the apparent contradictions in them between strategic and political objectives. Despite the considerable store of goodwill built up by Australian policies in Asia, she is not yet accepted as a member of the Asian community and her close association with the United States has raised the suspicion that she is an American satellite. While collaborating with India in economic matters as a Commonwealth country, Australia rejects Indian neutralism. Her friendly relations with Indonesia are partly jeopardised by her stand on West New Guinea, where she lays herself open to the charge of supporting colonialism. This charge is strengthened by her dispatch of troops to Malaya.

The same issue of *Pacific Relations* carries an article by Taya Zinkin on "India's Revolution Without Fear," which she terms "Nehruism." She states that the socialist revolution in India, conducted democratically, has been so successful that it is passing almost unnoticed. This revolution, she observes, will provide the rest of the under-developed world with a pattern of development "which will make Communism look both old-fashioned and barbarian by comparison."

In the October number of the American quarterly review, *Foreign Affairs*, Stanley K. Hornbeck, a former member of the State Department, discusses the American policy in regard to diplomatic recognition of Communist China and compares it with that of the United Kingdom. Defending America's attitude to this matter, he says that diplomatic recognition is more than a formality, it is an expression of policy involving the moral and political principles of the United States. He holds that it will be wrong of the United States to "trade" her present commitments for any possible benefits that she might obtain by recognising the new government of China.

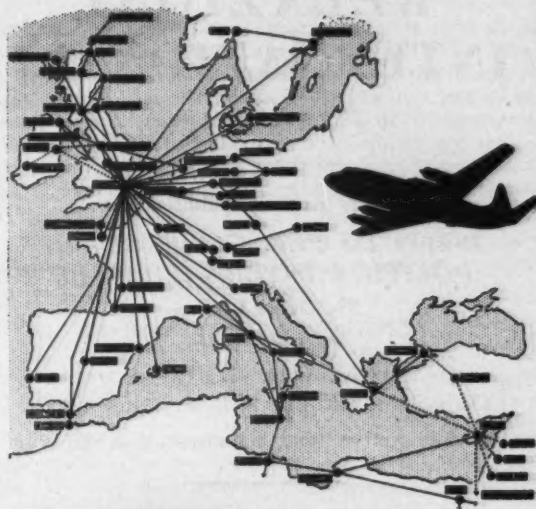
In the same journal, Toshikazu Kase, who led the Japanese Delegation at the Bandung Conference, writing on "Japan's New Role in East Asia," refers to his country's maintenance of diplomatic ties with Nationalist China and the "widespread impatience" that exists among the Japanese in their not being able to remove trade barriers with the Chinese mainland. The writer makes a strong case for the admission of Japan to the United Nations and remarks that the barring of admission despite a record that has been above reproach in the last ten years is causing bitter frustration among the people.

A letter from the editors, sent with the first issue of this year of *Monumenta Nipponica*, the journal of Sophia University, Tokyo, announces that they hope from this year to issue four numbers in the year, instead of the previous two. The current number is rather below the high standard we have come to expect, although the interest of Wilhelm Schiffer's contribution on "New Religions in Post-War Japan" goes a long way towards compensating for the rest. Only in Japan, perhaps, could there be a Denshin-kyo, a cult for the worship of electricity as principal god, with Thomas Edison taking his place as one of the lesser gods. The cult was dissolved two years ago, or we might have had a chance to witness some of its meetings—for some of these new sects plan to start missionary work abroad in the near future. Among them, the greatest effort is expected from the PL Kyodan—the "Perfect Liberty Brotherhood." There is a fully documented Note on Ink Cakes by R. H. van Gulik, and the review section, in English, French, and German, introduces several worth-while books, little of which has been heard in this country hitherto.

According to an article, "Publishing Trends" in the current *Japan Quarterly* (Volume 11, No. 3), this year has seen a boom in pocket-books in Japan. The idea of a cheap paper-back edition is far from new in Japan, for the well-known Iwanami Publishing House started a series over twenty years ago. The wonder is, with cost of living so high, and wages still shamefully low, that many of Japan's publishers were not reduced to this format long ago. The average Japanese tends not to use a public library for his evening, or train reading, and he has seemed quite ready, in spite of his low salary, to spend as much as 6/- or 7/6 a week on this kind of reading. It looks as though the new boom will be a help to many family budgets.

Another paragraph of the literary section reviews and introduces a Dictionary of the Ainu Language, by Dr. Chiri, which replaces the works of our own Batchelor. Dr. Chiri is a very rare bird; he is himself of Ainu stock—it is often said that he is the only scholar in the recent history of the people—and after graduating from Tokyo University, he went back to Hokkaido, to continue his studies of his

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people, and their language. His advent in this generation is fortunate, for the Ainau are rapidly becoming extinct, and their language, which has no written tradition, will die out with them. It is amazingly rich in vocabulary: there are 55 terms for "baby" listed in this new Dictionary, 68 for "to die," 57 for sexual intercourse, and even 54 for "to sit down."

News Club is a new serious magazine for children. It is a monthly periodical published by Junior Art Club Publications, London, in collaboration with the Council for Education in World Citizenship. It has sections devoted to current politics, art, science, films and radio and also competitions and other interesting features. A great deal of useful material is compressed into its four pages which should make interesting reading for children. In this "comic age," the magazine will need all the support and encouragement it can get to be successful.

The July-August issue of *L'Universo*, bi-monthly review published by the Istituto Geografico Militare, Florence, contains, among many articles of world-wide interest, a fascinating account of a journey undertaken by an expedition, headed by Attilio Gaudio of the Societe d'Etnographie et des Africanistes. Organised to commemorate the seventh centenary of Marco Polo's travels in Asia, the expedition took the same route from Quetta, across the Indian sub-continent, to Calcutta.

The *Sarawak Museum Journal*, which makes its re-appearance after three years, is an annual publication of the Kuching Museum in Sarawak and publishes material on subjects mainly of an ethnological and sociological nature relating to this British colony and neighbouring states. As the outside world's knowledge about these territories is very limited, the journal has a special usefulness. It is carefully edited and well got up with a number of illustrations adding to the interest of the articles.

Brunei, a Sultanate under British protection, lies to the North of Sarawak in the island of Borneo. It is noted for its sarongs and silverware. Brunei silver forms the subject of an interesting article in the August issue of *Corona*, the journal of the British Government's Overseas Service published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office. It has articles relating to other colonies, book reviews and pictures.

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EARLY INDO-IRANIAN RELATIONS

By Radha Kumud Mookerji (Lucknow)

INDO-IRANIAN relations date from remote antiquity, the time when the Aryan ancestors of the peoples later known as Hindus and Persians lived together undivided in a common home till they later migrated into their respective countries. This early contact between these two peoples united in common Aryan blood explain their many affinities in language and tradition, religious beliefs, rituals, manners and customs. These affinities are traceable in their primary religious works, the Vedas and Avesta, showing worship of common deities like Vedic Varuna=Avestic Ahura Mazda, Vedic Mitra=Avestic Mithra or Vedic Vrithrahan=Verethragna of the Avestan Yashts.

Another striking example of this religious affinity is the use made of the sacred Vedic drinks of *Soma* corresponding to the Avestic drink called *Haoma* in the religious rites of the two peoples. An interesting list of their common deities is also found in old and dated epigraphic documents discovered at Baghaz-Koi in north-eastern Asia Minor by the German Archaeologist, Professor Hugo Winckler. These are records of treaties entered into by the two warring peoples, the Mitani and the Hittites, and mention the gods who are invoked as guardians of these treaties. These gods include the following names: Mi-it-r (=Vedic Mitra), U-ru-w-na (=Vedic Varuna), Indra (also Vedic) and Nasatya (=Vedic Nasatyan, the two Asvins), corresponding to Avestic name Naonhathya. The Mesopotamian inscriptions are dated to about 1400 B.C.

The *Rigveda* also contains some references to Persia or Persian connexions, for example, the designation Parsaras (*RV. X, 33,2*).

Similarly, the *Avesta* (taken to be of pre-Achaemenian age prior to fifth century B.C.) shows a knowledge of India which it calls *Hindu*=old Persian *Hi(n)du* derived from the river called Sindhu (Indus) in Sanskrit. Again, the first chapter of the Avestan Vendidad lists 16 regions under Iranian sway and the fifteenth of these is called *Hapta Hindu* (Vd. I, 18), 'Seven Rivers,' which is the same as the land of the *Sapta Sindhavas* as mentioned in the *Rigveda* (VIII, 24,27). Another Avestan word *Us-Hindava* is taken to mean Himalaya, the mountain from which rivers rise. Similarly, Sanskrit *Arya* corresponds to Zend *Airya*, *Yajna* to Zend, *Yasna*, and so forth. Indeed, it will be seen that the language of Iran, of its earliest *Gathas* attributed to Zoroaster himself, and of the later sacred book *Avesta*, and also the language of the Achaemenian inscriptions from the time of Darius I (520 B.C.), as will be seen below, are all closely related to Indus, the oldest language of the *Rigveda*. "Not only single words and phrases but even whole stanzas may be transliterated from the dialect of India into the dialects of Iran, without change of vocabulary or construction." (*Cambridge History of India*, I, 74).

With the sixth century B.C. and the rise of the Achaemenian Empire, we have historical evidence of Persian contact with the North-Western parts of India. Evidence of this contact is furnished by the works of Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon as well as the later writings of Strabo and Arrian. Cyrus who ruled between 558 and 630 B.C. carried his campaigns up to India of which the region called *Gandavitis* on the Indian border line

was annexed by him. Ctesias even goes so far as to say that Cyrus died in consequence of a wound inflicted on him in battle by "an Indian" in an engagement at which "the Indians were fighting on the side of his enemies, the Derbikes, and supplied them with elephants," Xenophon, in his life of Cyrus, states that the king "brought under his rule Bactrians and Indians." Xenophon also refers to an embassy sent to Cyrus by an Indian king. This embassy is supposed to have paid a tribute in money to the Persian king.

His successor, Darius I (522-486 B.C.), however, has left documentary evidence of great historical value in inscriptions which are three in number, namely:

1. The Bahistan rock inscription (c. 520 B.C.).
2. An inscription at Persepolis (c. 518 B.C.).
3. An inscription on the tomb of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam (about 515 B.C.).

The first inscription does not include India in the list of the twenty-three provinces forming the empire of Darius, but it very soon came to be included in that empire. Both the other two inscriptions expressly mention *Hi(n)du* as a part of the empire. The second inscription calls this Indian region by the name *Gadara*=Gandhara (modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar districts). The Persepolis inscription designates the parts of India under the dominion of Darius as *Hidush* (Sindhu) and *Gadara*. A Susa palace inscription names India as *Hi(n)dauv*. Again, a *Hi(n)duviya* (i.e. a man from Sindhu) is mentioned among the subjects of the Persian empire in the south tomb empire. Another inscription of Darius on a tablet at Hamadan uses the term *Sindhu* for India, while the Naksh-i-Rustam inscription of Darius, mentions parts of India under the names *Ga(n)dara* and *Hi(n)dush*. These two names are again repeated in the Persepolis inscription of Xerxes (c. 486 to 65 B.C.).

The fact is that India was called by her Persian neighbours "the land of the river Sindhu (Indus)," but as the Iranians were unable to pronounce the latter *Sa*, they corrupted the word *Sindhu* into *Hindu*, so that the people of India were first called Hindus by the Iranians, to get over a phonetical difficulty. It may be noted that the term *Hindu* is thus a foreign and not an indigenous term. Nowhere is the term *Hindu* found in the entire range of Sanskrit, Pali or Prakrit literature. The term as coined by the old Iranians was also a territorial term for a country known after its river Sindhu. It did not denote or connote any religious association which is now imparted to the word. Historically speaking, the term *Hindu* should denote any inhabitant of India without any reference to his religion.

In addition to the evidence of these inscriptions, the fact of a Persian conquest of the north-western part of Punjab is attested by the historian Herodotus who gives a list of the twenty satrapies or provinces of the Achaemenian Empire and expressly states that India formed its "twentieth division." Herodotus further states that India paid to the Persian empire a tribute which was proportionately larger than all the rest of the provinces, "the amount of 360 talents of gold dust." This immense tribute is taken as amounting to over a million pounds sterling, while the levy formed about a third of the total amount contributed by all the Asiatic provinces together. It may be noted that India was able to pay its Persian tribute in gold owing

The author is a well-known Indian historian and former professor of Lucknow University.

to the fact that India derived gold from the washings of the Indus beds, which, according to geologists, were distinctly auriferous in those days. Herodotus further records the tradition of what he calls "the gold digging ants" supposed to be Tibetan mastiffs digging up gold.

The Persian hold on India was strengthened under the next Emperor Xerxes (486-465 B.C.) who recruited Indian soldiers to his army fighting against Greece. They are called *Gandarians* as well as *Indians* and used arrows tipped with iron and also short spears for fight at close quarters. According to Herodotus, India supplied Xerxes not merely with infantry but also cavalry and chariots, together with horses and wild asses to draw the chariots, as also dogs.

The next Emperor Darius III also enlisted Indian troops to resist Alexander's invasion. Some of these were "mountainous Indians." India also sent a small force of elephants for the emperor's army.

One consequence of Persian contact with India was the introduction to India of Persian coins. The Persian gold coin called *Daric* which was first minted by Darius I found its way

into India, but as its value in terms of silver was comparatively less than in Persia, it could not hold its own in India. But the Persian silver coins called *siglei* (shekels) had more value in India where they became popular and also looked like the indigenous Indian silver *Karshapana* square pieces.

Another proof of Persian influence on India was the extension to the Persian settlements established in India of the Persian script in use in the Achaemenian Empire. This is shown by the interesting fact that Panini whose time is taken to be earlier than 500 B.C. has in his grammatical work called *Ashtadhyayi* uses the expression *Yavanani* which is taken to mean *Yavananani lipi*, i.e. the *lipi* or script of the Yavanas or foreigners. This foreign script was in use in the north-western part of India even in the time of Asoka (269-235 B.C.). This is proved by the discovery at Taxila of an Asoken inscription written in the Persian Aramaic script. Some scholars also read Persian influence in some of the features of the Asokan Pillars which have bell-shaped capitals of Persepolitan origin and also in the practice of Asoka issuing his royal proclamations in the shape of inscriptions on rock or pillars in the manner of the Achaemenian emperors.

FRIEDRICH MAX MULLER

By Mahesh Kumar Moondhra (Calcutta)

FOR the last hundred and fifty years Indological studies have progressed in the Western countries. Several generations of scholars have worked on different aspects in this field of studies, and undoubtedly, Max Muller tops the list and is the most esteemed name in India.

Friedrich Max Muller was born on December 6, 1823, at Dessau in Germany. His father Wilhelm Muller was a poet of repute and his mother was a cultured lady proficient in music. In 1836 Muller went to Leipzig for high school studies. In 1841 he joined the University of Leipzig. Apart from the classical languages, Max Muller studied Old German, Hebrew, Arabic, Psychology, Anthropology, and many other subjects. He was, however, soon persuaded by Herman Brockhaus, the first occupant of the chair of Sanskrit, founded in 1841, to devote himself mainly to the study of the classical language of Ancient India. An early result of these studies was his translation of the *Hitopadesa* into German in 1844. Having graduated Ph.D. in 1843 at the University of Leipzig, Muller went to Berlin in 1844 to study comparative philology under Bopp, and philosophy under Schelling. In the following year he left for Paris where he studied Zend under Professor Burnouf, the founder of the school of Zend studies. While in Paris he decided to publish a critical edition of the *Rig-Veda*. With this object in view he left for England in 1846. With the help of Professor Horace Hayman Wilson he was successful in securing pecuniary aid from the East India Company for the publication of this vast work. In order to facilitate the work of printing, Max Muller had had to settle down at Oxford. In 1850 he was appointed the deputy Taylorian Professor of Modern Languages at Oxford. Along with his editorial work, he wrote, during this period, the essays which were subsequently collected as *Chips from a German Workshop* and *History of the Ancient Sanskrit Literature*.

In 1860 the Boden chair of Sanskrit at Oxford fell vacant. Max Muller was one of the aspirants for this post. But his foreign birth and the liberal thoughts proved a barrier to his election to the coveted chair, and Monier Williams attained the post. Max Muller was very much disheartened by this failure

and afterwards contributed very little directly to the promotion of the Sanskrit studies. Yet indirectly he did much in this field by editing *The Sacred Books of the East* and by his contributions to the science of comparative philology. Prichard had proved in 1831 that the Celtic languages belonged to the Aryan group of languages. Winning's *Manual of Comparative Philology* was also published in 1838. By their scholarly works Bopp, Pott, Pictet, and others had advanced the studies of the science of comparative philology. Yet the credit goes to Max Muller for the popularisation of this branch of studies. The two courses of his lectures at the Royal Institution in 1861 and 1863 on "The Science of Language" stimulated the public interest in the lately developed science. His interest in philosophy led him to translate into English *Critique of Pure Reason* by Kant who influenced him greatly.

Max Muller's study of the mythology of many lands drew his attention to the comparative study of religions. The results of this are to be found in his lectures at Westminster Abbey and Gifford Lectures at Oxford. About the later course of his lectures he has remarked: "Lectures are not meant to stuff and cram the mind. Lectures are meant to excite an appetite for knowledge, and to show how such knowledge may best be acquired." The most tangible response of the stimulus was the publication under his editorship, from 1875 onwards, of *The Sacred Books of the East*, in fifty-one volumes, including indexes, all save three of which appeared under his supervision during his life-time.

Max Muller was a well-loved man. Every Indian who visited England during his life-time considered it his prime duty to pay him a visit. The visitors received a warm and hearty welcome from the savant. Though he never visited India, yet he maintained regular correspondence with the contemporary Indian scholars.

The greatest drawback of the great and otherwise liberal scholar was his unwillingness to utilise the lately developed scientific methods for investigation. His method of investigation was essentially romantic, and, consequently, a large part of his labour was abortive. His craze for the identification of thought and language as one was futile. He was of the opinion that the

"growth of human mind must be studied in the history of language." Similarly, his investigations into religion and mythology were of a more metaphysical nature showing little influence of the later anthropological and ethnographic trends. Hence his theories, such as the origin of religion in the recognition of man of the "infinite cause" and of the origin of mythology in "deceased language," etc., have since been successfully refuted. Yet, it must be added that Max Muller contributed more than any other scholar of the nineteenth century to the popularisation of the study and problems of comparative religion and mythology, and arousing public interest in these subjects. His *magnum opus* the critical edition of the *Rig-Veda*, is more than enough to immortalise him in the realm of the muses.

The Himalayan blunder of Max Muller's life was the use of the word *Aryan* to denote a race. Like an epidemic the word spread far and wide throughout Europe. Within a short period a number of books were written by several pseudo-scholars and the different countries of Europe began to vie with each other for proving themselves as the real *Aryans*. The pseudo-theory

of an *Aryan* race was disproved by the contemporary scientists, the investigators in the field of anthropology and ethnology. Having understood his mistake Max Muller wrote unhesitatingly: "To me an ethnologist who speaks of *Aryan* race, *Aryan* blood, *Aryan* eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar. It is worse than a Babylonian confusion of tongues—it is downright theft. The phonologist should collect his evidence, arrange his classes, divide and combine . . . His evidence is the evidence of language, and nothing else . . . There ought to be no compromise between ethnological and phonological science." But the protest was in vain. Hitler and Nazi Germany provide the greatest example of the terror created by the *Aryanism*. Even today it would be futile to claim that the spectre of *Aryanism* does not haunt the world of learning.

Indians will always remain grateful to the venerable Anglo-German scholar for the valuable services he rendered to promote the study of our ancient language, literature, and culture. Max Muller died on October 28, 1900.

FESTIVALS OF KASHMIR

By Asha Dhar

CARRYING old *Kangri* (Kashmiri earthenware fire-pot) frames, discarded willow baskets and broken pieces of wickerwork, gangs of cheerful children had assembled on a "ghat" of the Jhelum at Srinagar. They set the junk on fire. The merry blaze warmed the dull chill night. Hilarious and undaunted, the bouyant urchins swirled the burning *Kangris* around. Men and women, young and old, were watching the bouts of merriment.

Reflections of the flames played on the broad bosom of the Jhelum. It was the festival of *Tel Ashtami*. In this manner, Kashmiris, freed from the long severe winter, "cremate" it on this day with bonfires lit in every town and village.

Kashmiris have a variety of festivals. Some are religious, some mythological and others seasonal. Most of them are celebrated on an inter-communal basis.

The New Year Day—which usually falls in March/April—in every Hindu home begins with greeting the goddess of bounty. A young girl arranges a large dinner plate with paddy, sugar, yogurt, fruit, walnuts, coins, a mirror, inkholder and the New Year scroll. Early morning she shows the loaded plate to every member of the family. Thus is sought the blessing of the goddess for prosperity of the family.

Encircled by orchards and overlooking the lovely expanse of the Dal Lake near Srinagar, Hariparbat, the fort-topped hill (sacred to both Hindus and Muslims) is swarmed on the afternoon of the New Year Day, by people of all communities. They carry *Samovars*—Kashmiri tea-making vessels—and other picnic paraphernalia with them. Then they bask in the warm sun, so pleasant after the long winter. The fresh turf and pink-and-white almond blossom add colour to the gay spectacle.

Baisakhi, or the harvest festival, falls in April. The day presents a grand spectacle of colour and gaiety on the Dal Lake near Srinagar. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs from the town and outlying areas flock to the world-renowned Moghul Gardens—Nishat, Shalimar and Nagin—flanking the Dal Lake.

Shab-i-Mahraj falls soon after, followed by *Shab-i-Barat*. The dates of these Muslim festivals change in accordance with the appearance of the moon and yearly shift by one month. During the night of *Shab-i-Barat* Muslims keep holy vigil, chanting passages from the Quran. Legend goes that during the night the Holy Prophet visits each and every house and relieves the pains of suffering humanity.

Then come two Hindu festivals, *Jeth Ashtami*, succeeded by *Har Ashtami*. Hindus fast on these days and go on a pilgrimage to Khir Bhawani, a well-known spring-girt temple twelve miles from Srinagar. After a bath in the cool stream nearby, incense and candles are burnt at the altar of the temple.



Group of Kashmiri women and children at a picnic during a spring festival

During the month of Ramzan—the period rotates annually, as the year for this purpose is computed as of eleven months only—Muslims abstain from eating or drinking for the day. Every morning, after early breakfast, they go to the nearest mosque for prayers and listen to the recitation of the Holy Quran. In some homes the recital of the Quran goes on for the whole day. At sunset the fast is broken by sipping water, and then come the usual eatables. On the 26th day of the Ramzan, Muslims give alms to the poor, prepare food in community kitchens and distribute it among the high and low. *Jamat-ul-Fida* and *Jamat-ul-Fitrat*, festivals of merry-making, are connected with the Holy I'd. The I'd is celebrated with eclat and pious enthusiasm. Every Muslim dons a new dress and relishes a variety of dishes. Women sing and dance on the occasion.

Rakhi or Raksha Bhandan in northern India is the day for brothers and sisters to renew the affectionate ties that bind them. Kashmiri Hindus in Srinagar climb the temple of Shankaracharya on the hilltop that surveys Srinagar, the Dal Lake and a large area of the mountain-girt valley. This is believed to be an abode of Lord Siva. But the more revered abode is situated in the far-off glacier-bound cave shrine of Amar Nath whereto flock Kashmiris and pilgrims

from India. There they behold sacred pigeons in the ice-bound cave; these are believed to be the incarnation of Siva and Parvati.

In August, just after eight days of Rakhi festival, falls *Janam Ashtami*, the birthday of Lord Krishna. Hindus keep fast on this day, calling religious meetings to diffuse the teachings of the Gita. *Ras Leela* (operatic dance) of Lord Krishna is staged at some places. Music and dance go on till moonrise, the traditional time of the birth of the Lord.

Kashmiris have a national pride and love for the *Vitasta* (the Jhelum river), and on *Vaitha Truhvah* day they offer it their prayers. Earthen lamps are set afloat on the river, each balanced on a grass ring. To watch the broad expanse of the water, bedecked with floating and flickering lights, is a captivating spectacle.

The Festival of Lights, *Dewali*, provides a festive occasion for illuminations on the evening of the new moon of Kartik (Oct.-Nov.). Hindu houses and business premises are tastefully decorated and illuminated. Shopkeepers close their year's budget and start the new financial year.

The Muslim festival, *Muharram*, marks the martyrdom of Imam Hussin, the Prophet's grandson. Huge effigies of tombs made of paper and wood are taken out by the Shias in a procession. The mourners chant funeral hymns.

The birthday of Guru Nanak Dev, falls in November. It is a very auspicious day for the Sikhs. They go to a "gurdwara" near the Hariparbat hillock in Srinagar. Epistles from their sacred scriptures are recited for the whole day. Sikhs also celebrate the birthday of Guru Govind Singh.

On the 10th of Asvin (Sept.-Oct.) the *Dussehra* festival is held in commemoration of the victory of Lord Rama, the epic hero, over Ravana, the demon king. Effigies of Ravana and his condemned tribe are burnt at sunset in a parade ground in Srinagar. People of all communities come to see the spectacle.

Kashmiris are simple, superstitious and mystical. The manner in which they celebrate these and other festivals is peculiar even as their beautiful valley is unique.

THE DANCE-DRAMA OF THAILAND

By Francis Story (Rangoon)

THE exquisite perfection of the Siamese dance is an art that has grown to maturity over many centuries. Its fullest expression is found in the combination of ballet, opera and straight play known as the *lakon*, or dance-drama, of which three divisions are distinguishable. The *lakon jatri* apparently originated in the south of Thailand and was based on an ancient legend of a bird-princess, Manohara. As it spread north it underwent various changes, which, however, did not affect the central theme, and it came to be known as the *lakon nok*, a name signifying that it belonged to the outer *nok* provinces. Later it was favoured in court circles and became the *lakon nai*, the Court Dance-Drama. Further developments came with the passage of time; a trend towards realism introduced the *lakon p'ud*, which added straight dialogue to the music and dancing, and later it came to be performed in two different styles, one based on the legendary themes of ancient days and the other a mixture that harked back to the *lakon nok*.

The performance of "Manohara" I saw at the Silpakorn Theatre in Bangkok is typical of present-day interpretations. The story of the play is that of a Princess of the *kinnari*, a race half bird, half human, whose habitation was Suvarnanagara, the City of Gold, on Mt. Kailasa. She was one of seven beautiful daughters of the king, Tummaraj, and while bathing was captured by a huntsman with the aid of a magical rope given to him by the king of the Nagas. The huntsman takes her to the court of Raja Adityavamsa of Pancala, where she is wedded to

his heir, the prince Sudhana. While the Prince is away commanding his father's troops in a war, the Brahmin court chaplain (Purohita), who bears him enmity for his favouring of a younger Brahmin, devises a plot against him. When the king reports an ominous dream the Purohita interprets it to mean that disaster and death will befall him unless he makes a great sacrifice of many kinds of animals together with the Prince's bride, Manohara of the *kinnari*. Grief assails the king, but he sees no alternative, and preparations are made for the great sacrifice. Manohara, in the presence of the court, is led to the pyre, where she makes a last plea for her life. When it is refused she asks permission to dance the dance of the *kinnari* for the last time. Her bird wings and feathered tail are given to her and she dances. Twice she approaches the fire, but at the end of the dance, instead of submitting herself she takes wing and soars over the palace wall, to vanish in the clouds.

On his return from the campaign Prince Sudhana learns that his dearly-loved bride has returned to her home in the Himalayas, and determines to go in search of her. Wandering alone in the forest he comes to the hermitage of the Rishi Kassapa, who tells him that his bride passed that way and left with him her shawl and ring, with a message for the Prince to the effect that he must not try to find her because the way is beset with dangers from wild beasts and serpents so that it is impossible for any human being to survive it. The Prince vows that he will not give up the search, and begs the Rishi for advice. The gentle sage points out the direction and tells him that the journey will take him exactly seven years, seven months and seven days, and if he succeeds in reaching his destination his arrival will coincide with the end of the period of purification imposed upon Manohara for her intercourse with human beings. When the *kinnari* maidens bring water for her libation he is to drop her ring into the pitcher and when the Princess discovers it she will know that her husband is at hand. The Sage warns the Prince that many of the fruits on which he will have to live during his journey through the forest are poisonous, and sends with him his faithful monkey-attendant, telling the prince that he should only eat of the fruits the monkey eats, and avoid all others.

At the end of the specified period the Prince arrives at

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Suvarna-nagara and finds everything as the Rishi had foretold. When she meets her delighted parents for the first time after her long period of seclusion, Manohara already knows that her husband has traced her. She tells the king of her adventures and of the Prince whom she loves, but her father says that if her lover is really worthy of her he should seek her out. She then asks him whether he would approve of the marriage should the Prince follow her. When he gives his consent Prince Sudhana is allowed to appear before them, but as a last trial he is told to pick out his wife among the seven beautiful sisters, who are all identical. This he does by means of the ring on her finger, and the play ends happily amidst general rejoicing.

The incidents of the plot follow a familiar pattern of Indian folk tales; they are merely the framework on which to hang the rich fabric of dance and song, and there is little attempt at dramatic representation. In the first scene, a forest glade with a lake in the background, the clowning of the huntsman—a typical rustic buffoon—is followed by the entrance of the *kinnari* maidens, who have come to bathe in the lake. They are clad in silks glittering with silver spangles, wearing high, pointed Siamese crowns and with stylised cock's tails wagging at their rears. Wings are suggested by gauze attached to their wrists and meeting at the back of the jewelled corsages, and they wear long, pointed silver fingernails that bend backwards following the backward curve of the hand.

They danced entrancingly, thin, delicate arms and hands weaving meticulous arabesques against a dreamlike background of colour and sparkling movement. Siamese dancing, like that of Burma, is not athletic; there is comparatively little leg movement, yet it contrives to be stylised without being static. Its special feature is the backward curl of hand and fingers from the wrist, which gives a strange, unreal quality to each sinuous movement. No element of abruptness or angularity interrupts the smooth flow of the dancer's gestures; arms and hands move with the supple, lazy grace of a fish, yielding to the music as a fish yields its body to the underwater drift. The dancers seemed, indeed, to float in an element more buoyant than the air.

There was consummate artistry too, in the apparently casual, unstudied movements of the dance across the stage. The rose reds, purples, greens and brilliant yellows of the costumes met and touched, fused briefly and separated, blossoms scattered by a careless breeze. The stage was alive with gently vibrant colour and movement, an ever-changing reverie of quiet unrest, star-glitter and sunshine magically and incongruously mixed. In this dance there is nothing drilled or mechanical; the art that conceals art has become sheer rapture. The dancers dispersed as casually as they appeared. One would have thought them to be wild creatures at play, who came to amuse themselves and when they were tired drifted away—negligently, with the passing of a mood. They were children, animals, untamed spirits of the air—anything but a corps de ballet.

So it was throughout the performance, which consists of five distinct scenes, some of them elaborate settings that require long intervals for their preparation. During these intervals the performers sometimes descended to the floor of the auditorium and continued their dance before the lowered curtain. It was in one of these interludes that I noticed the gliding walk of the dancers; with only their heads and shoulders visible above the front row of seats the smoothness of their walk suggested that they were on wheels. Years of arduous training lie behind this even, unaccented carriage.



Thai dancer

The music, from traditional Thai instruments, has the recurring phrases and complicated rhythms of Indo-China, but is without the strident, ear-jarring tone that mars most Asian music, and the arts of singing and acting are more successfully combined than in the West by the fact that the singing is "dubbed" by a member of the orchestra while the dancers merely interpret its mood by gestures.

The Thais have done well to preserve so admirable a facet of their culture as the classical dance-drama, and from the crowded houses it draws it is clearly an art that is still appreciated by the people despite the rival attractions of the cinema and radio. The elegance of the costumes, the grace and finished artistry of the performers combining to create a magical world of fantasy make it an unforgettable experience. Something is due, also, to the wisdom shown by the sponsors of the theatre who include in their programme valuable notes on the dance-drama for the benefit of the stranger. In this they follow the excellent example of the National Culture Institute, which publishes pamphlets on different aspects of Thai culture that help the visitor to gain an understanding of the richness, variety and charm of the nation's background.

ECONOMIC SECTION

SCOTTISH INDUSTRIES AND ASIA

By our Correspondent in Glasgow

THE close ties between Scottish industries and Asian countries have been clearly demonstrated by recent visits by Asian Cabinet Ministers and diplomats to Scottish industrial enterprises. Burma's Prime Minister U Nu visited Yarrow & Co. Ltd., Glasgow, who are building steel raised-propeller motor vessels for Burma. Ceylon's Minister of Transport Mr. Jayawickreme visited Albion Motors Ltd., Glasgow. The Indonesian Ambassador to Great Britain, Prof. Supomo, visited Fleming and Ferguson Ltd., Paisley, builders of dredgers, hopper barges and other types of ships, a firm which supplies various countries of Asia. Trade relations between Scotland and Asia are long standing, and the *Buyers Guide to Scottish Industries* (published by The Scottish Council for Development & Industry) shows the high diversification of Scottish industries, and it seems therefore, sometimes easier to

answer the question "what does Scotland not export?" than "what does Scotland export?"

In Scotland's exports to Asia a prominent part is played by firms supplying Asian railways with rolling stock. Lieut.-Colonel Arthur N. Forman, Chairman of Hurst, Nelson & Co. Ltd., Motherwell, referred at the recent annual general meeting of his Company to the recently secured "substantial order from the Indian State railways which appreciably expands the assured period of engagement of our export facilities." North British Locomotive Co. Ltd., who have been suppliers of Asian railways over a long period, are at present completing an order for six 300 h.p. 36-ton Diesel-hydraulic shunting locomotives for Malayan railways. Delivery will take place by the end of this year and the engines will go into service at Kuala Lumpur. This Glasgow firm has also secured an order for twenty Diesel locomotives from the Indian State Railways. These 605 b.h.p. B-B Diesel-hydraulic locomotives are to be used on the Kandla-Palampur line. One part of the order has already been delivered, while the last consignment is due to leave Glasgow for India shortly.

Among other orders secured against competition from other countries are to be mentioned the order from the Pakistan Railways for railway carriages to the value of £750,000 placed with R. Y. Pickering & Co. Ltd., Wishaw, and the order for 2,800 covered wagons for India's Railways placed with Pressed Steel Co. Ltd., Paisley. Many goods produced in the western parts of Scotland are shipped from the well-developed Port of Glasgow, from where

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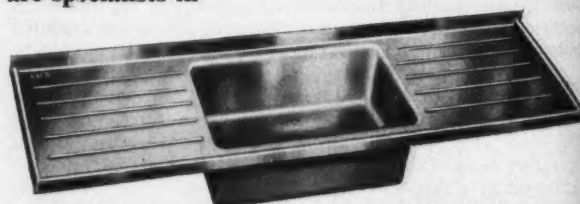
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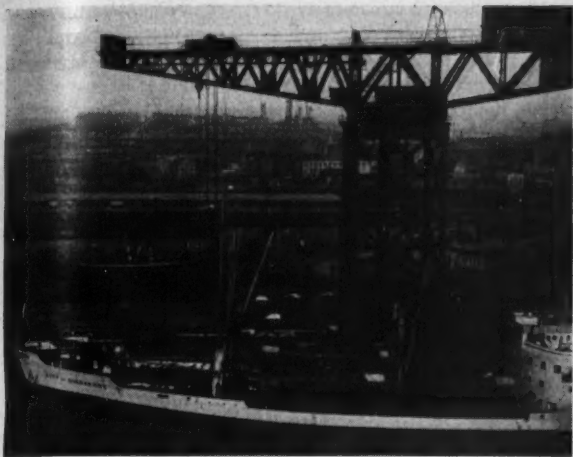
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AGENTS REQUIRED FOR SOME AREAS



The "City of Singapore" being loaded at Glasgow port with locomotives for India

several Scottish shipping lines, including the Clan Line and the City Line, maintain shipping to the ports of Asia. City Line which is over a century old offers direct service from Glasgow to the main ports of India and Pakistan.

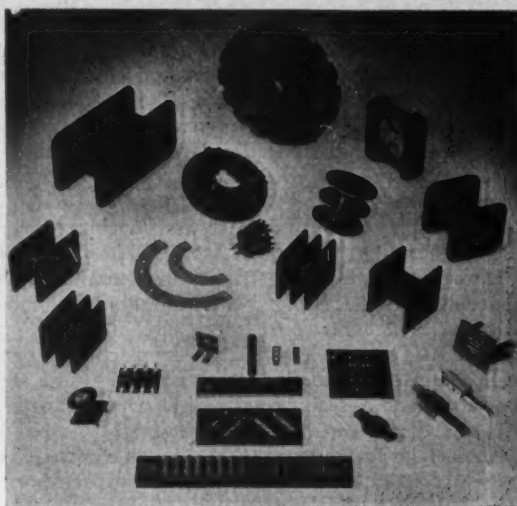
In connection with the development of Asian ports Scottish manufacturers of dredgers, including Wm. Simons & Co. Ltd., Renfrew, are very active in that area. Wm. McNeil & Co. Ltd., Glasgow, are suppliers of Lambert-Garland buoys to the port authorities of Hong Kong and Rangoon, as well as to various ports of Malaya.

An interesting order for wire rope was recently secured by Martin, Black & Co. Ltd., Coatbridge, from Japan. The unusual aspect of this order is that at present Japan is exporting to the U.K. wire rods which are ultimately manufactured into steel wire suitable for wire ropes. Wire rope is being shipped to Japan where it is being used in the shipyards at Kure. Another firm of this industry which is active in Asia is Begg, Cousland & Co. Ltd., Glasgow.

Scottish firms of the constructional and building industry have traditional ties with Asian countries. Interest has been recently shown by Asian firms in the building methods of John Lawrence (Glasgow) Ltd., who are connected with Bellrock Gypsum Industries Ltd., London, to apply this system under licence in various Asian countries. Associated Metal Works (Glasgow) Ltd., are active in various Asian markets. This firm specialises in fabrication of stainless steel equipment for chemical, food, pharmaceutical, shipbuilding and engineering industries. In addition, this firm manufactures and exports stainless steel sink-units for hospitals, institutions and housing.

Scottish Machine Tool Corporation, Glasgow, and other firms of this industry, including John Lang & Sons Ltd., Johnstone, are supplying various markets of Asia and the Pacific.

Scotland possesses a very diversified chemical industry, and the office of the Nobel Division of the Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. is in Glasgow.



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IOCO Ltd., Glasgow, exhibited their products at the recent British Plastics Exhibition in London. The exhibits included plasoco p.v.c. treated fabrics for wet weather garments and industrial protective clothing of interest to Asian buyers, as well as formapex laminated sheets and tubes. Components manufactured from formapex are used in the electrical, textile, chemical, engineering and other industries, and in connection with the industrialisation of Asian countries are becoming of greater interest to these markets.

Sugar-milling plant and plantation machinery manufacturers, including Mirrlees Watson Co. Ltd., Glasgow, and Lewis C. Grant, Dysart (rice milling machines) have been supplying Asian markets. Steel threshing machines of R. G. Garvie and Sons, Aberdeen, are attracting great interest in Asia and the Far East, as the machine has been built to deal with all types of cereals grown in those areas. It can separate and clean rice as well as wheat, barley and oats. A. F. Craig & Co. Ltd., Paisley, are to erect two complete sugar factories in East Punjab for local co-operative societies, and the factories are expected to go into production by the end of 1956. Both plants are to

have a crushing capacity of 1,000 tons of cane daily, with possibilities for future extension. A considerable proportion of machinery is to be manufactured in India, and members of the Paisley Company's technical staff will go to India to erect the factories.

A traditional link of Scotland with the Indian sub-continent is the jute industry centred in Dundee, where it is said "one can smell Calcutta and Chittagong." Jute is being imported by the Dundee industry, and at the same time textile machinery built in that area is being exported to India and Pakistan.

During the first eight months of 1955 the exports of Scottish and Irish whisky to India amounted to the value of £310,326; to Singapore and Federation of Malaya, £159,171; and to Australia, £778,960, showing an increase as against the corresponding period of last year. In addition, the Moray Firth Foods Ltd., Bunchrew, started to export Athall Brose, a Scottish beverage consisting of malt, whisky, cream oatmeal, and honey. Fresh cream in frozen state has been also exported to the Far East. Despite various import difficulties Scottish biscuits are being exported to the various markets of Asia.

THE FUTURE OF NATURAL RUBBER

By a Special Correspondent

THE People's Republic of China and the Government of Ceylon signed an agreement in Peking last month, fixing the price of rubber for the period from June 1 to December 31, 1955. They also concluded contracts for the purchase of rubber and rice in 1956. China will buy 50,000 tons of rubber from Ceylon, and the latter will purchase 270,000 tons of rice from China. China will also pay £1,700,000 to Ceylon—the balance due to that country under this year's rice-for-rubber trade pact.

This new agreement has been followed with disapproval in the US. However, Ceylon's decision to continue her, in the West, so unpopular rubber sales to China, is not only dictated by her desire to procure Chinese rice, but also by the general uneasiness in South-East Asia regarding the future of natural rubber markets. Indeed, just as it once was the case with organic dyestuffs, the synthetic sword of Damocles hangs over natural rubber.

The rubber industry in the United States, including the four biggest concerns, is engaged in a programme of rapidly expanding synthetic rubber capacities. And it is a new type of synthetic rubber that is paid special attention to, rather than the GR-S type, which cannot replace natural rubber completely.

The Firestone Tire & Rubber Company recently announced that its ventures succeeded as early as 1953 in solving the problem of producing a new type of synthetic rubber capable of completely replacing the natural one even for the purposes of tyre-making for heavy trucks. Another company, the Goodyear-Gulf Chemicals, Inc., has recently built a giant plant intended to produce the absolute synthetic imitation of natural rubber.

Mr. P. W. Litchfield, President of the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, is of the opinion that the annual output of synthetic rubber in the United States will reach, in the next five years, 1,250,000 long tons. (This figure excludes capacities reserved for purely war purposes.) Such a level of production will allow the United States to limit purchases of natural rubber overseas, notably in S.E. Asia, to token amounts.

As to expansion plans of individual companies, the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company is reported to have decided to step up the output of its plants in Houston, Texas, to 200,000 long tons per year. The Firestone Tire & Rubber Company is expanding its plants in Lake Charles, Louisiana, to produce up to 150,000 long tons of synthetic rubber annually.

According to statistics published by the Rubber Manufacturers Association, the synthetic rubber consumption in the United States grows at the rate of 35 to 40 per cent. every year, while the natural rubber proportion in the rubber total is steadily declining. Moreover, the published statistics on the natural rubber consumption in the United States minimise the magnitude of the decline. The reason is that information on the real situation in the US natural rubber market would cause justified anxiety to natural rubber producers, and they would be forced, as a result, to look for new and more reliable markets.

Nevertheless, US trade quarters connected with the rubber industry in South-East Asia have of late observed the growth of such anxiety as a result of the successes achieved by the synthetic rubber industry in the United States. They point out the reaction by South-East Asian

countries is justified, since rubber exports, for the majority of them, are the chief source of dollars and other hard currencies. It is in this context that the recent decision by the Ceylonese Government assumes an important significance. The Ceylonese Government has decided to abandon its previous trade policy which resulted in Ceylon's exports leaning too heavily on a limited number of countries

importing her produce. It is held in US trade quarters that the decision is an attempt to switch Ceylonese merchandise to other markets which possess unlimited possibilities for natural rubber.

The Ceylonese Government's decision is believed to have been influenced by the example of Britain selling rubber from South-East Asia to anyone who wishes to buy it.

ITALY AND CHINA TRADE

By Alvise Scarfoglio (Rome)

SIGNOR NENNI'S recent visit to Peking was an act which went far beyond the limits of mere solidarity between two Socialist parties. Before leaving, Nenni saw Foreign Minister Signor Martino, and made a statement to the press, in which he said he had reviewed with his host the whole of Italy's relations with China, and that it had been found that "some progress" had been made towards the normalisation of relations. As for the rumour that Signor Martino might pay a visit to Moscow, Nenni refused to commit himself.

From the fact that Nenni was to stop in Moscow on his way to Peking, the Right wing press acidly inferred that this had been partly the object of the Nenni-Martino meeting. Signor Martino himself was compelled to answer the rumour with a purely no-comment communique—an attitude surprising in a Minister who is notorious for his adamant Atlanticism. Nenni did not make any declarations to the Press on leaving the Quirinal after his audience with Signor Gronchi on the same day. But this was probably the most important of the two visits. In the eyes of public opinion, it gave to Nenni's journey the stamp of an Opposition action taken on behalf of the State's interests, as a whole the relations between Gronchi and Nenni are not merely personal. They go back to the years when Gronchi was Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, when plans for a common policy were formed between the Left wing Socialist leader, and the veteran Catholic Trade Union organiser. It should not be forgotten that Italy's new Constitution leaves the President considerable powers in matters of foreign policy, granting credentials to ambassadors and ratifying treaties among other things. Signor Gronchi is known for his active and keen interest in foreign policy.

Nenni's voyage was announced by the Socialist Party's paper *Avanti* on September 10, and was openly stated to have the double aim of participating in the festivals for the anniversary of the Chinese Revolution on the 1st of October, and of laying the foundations for the establishment of diplomatic relations with People's China, and of improving the trade relations between the two countries.

Signor Nenni is known for his habit of taking the initiative in foreign policy, and Opposition initiative in foreign policy is a novelty in Italian politics, being a break with the most respected traditions of the Italian Socialist party where in pre-Fascist days foreign affairs were considered an invention of the bourgeois class, with which no Socialist, whether leader or rank and file, would soil his hands. In reality, there is ample justification for Nenni's initiative even from a strictly Marxist point of view, if such justification is needed. A country with a rapidly growing population is constantly threatened with unemployment, and the problem of opening new markets is more acutely felt by Italy's army of unemployed, two millions strong, than by the employers themselves. After the stage of post-war expansion,

Italian industry is feeling the narrowness of the Italian market, and is threatened with what is called "redimensioning," that is, reduction and very often winding up. The mechanical industry, in particular, seems bound to be the victim in the European Coal and Steel Community reorganisation plans. Certain industrial circles are anxious to see the ban on mechanical and machinery exports to China lifted and are ready to join in any political movement on any scale which aims at normal trade relations with People's China.

On the other hand, the chemical industry which already occupies a very important place in Italy's trade with China, will certainly need new markets, as a consequence of the impetus it will get from the discovery of oilfields in Italy. The most important chemical exports to China are dyestuffs, pharmaceutical products, antibiotics and fertilisers. From China, Italy's chief imports are egg products. Rumours that an Italian delegation of trade representatives may visit China before the end of the year are ignored in official circles, but confirmed



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by those business circles who are associated with Comet—the private firm which was a pioneer in the opening of Italo-Chinese trade. This year the president of Comet visited Peking and contacted branches of the China National Export and Import Corporation. During his trip he was received by Mr. Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung.

Italy's trade with China has expanded enormously during the last four years, and some experts estimate that she has risen from the 15th post to the fourth, despite bureaucratic control, and efforts of American influence to use the ARAR, the agency originally established for the placement of American war surplus, as a means of control on trade with China. It is interesting to note that since the end of June, the managerial press representing some of the firms interested in trade with China, renewed attacks against the ARAR, which they considered as a useless survival of the post-war administration, and an undue interference in matters where private initiative should be paramount.

Nenni's return will be followed during this month by the departure of Signor Martino on a long tour through the Asian capitals. New Delhi, Bangkok, and Tokyo will be the principal ones; at first, the trip was described as a pure courtesy tour made in order to return the visits of Mr. Yoshida in October, 1954, Sir John Kotelawala in November, 1954, Marshal Pibul Songgram in May, 1955, and Mr. Nehru in July of this year. This means that three important States have been left out—Pakistan; the Philippines and Indonesia. It has been rumoured and not yet denied, that diplomatic steps might be taken to secure the support of Asian States in favour of Italy's admission to the UN.

The repercussions of the Geneva Big Four Conference on Italy's policy, both foreign and domestic have been few until now. The country's leading political circles remain attached to the line of policy preceding it, and seem to ignore that there are any chances for a new line of conduct. Economic milieus on the contrary, seem to have pricked up their ears at the negotiations between the US and People's China. They were welcomed by a commentary in *Osservatore Romano* which could be described as pessimistically objective. Despite the Vatican's evident antipathy for China's admission into the community of civilised nations, the Italian economic press continued its campaign in favour of the conclusion of a treaty of commerce with China.

This campaign had centered around 24 *Ore*, the important

Milan economic daily, and, indeed, Italy's leading economic paper. It had had forerunners in years in which the ban on trade with countries beyond the curtain was at its heaviest. Recently, at the end of June, one leading article had bitterly criticised the monopoly of trade with China—what little there was of it—by the ARAR. The latter agency's function was exhausted, and, the leading article said, it had no other one save that of creating a state monopoly of a foreign commerce for the benefit of jack-in-office prebendaries.

One month later, the Milan daily published an interview with a distinguished Demo-Christian parliamentary man, Signor Giuseppe Vedovato, who is a member of the National Executive Council of the Christian Democratic party. Signor Vedovato announced the formation of a society having as its aim a permanent exhibition of Italian mechanical produce in Hong Kong. The Society's name is Comideo (Compagnia per la Mostra Permanente de macchinari italiano nell'Estremo Oriente—Company for the permanent exhibition of Italian Machinery in the Far East).

The news came quite unexpectedly. A few months before, a public manifestation of this kind by a Demo-Christian exponent would have been severely reprimanded by the Demo-Christian leadership—indeed, it might have cost its author a suspension from both party organisational activities, and from the Parliamentary party. But under the benevolent though undecided premiership of Signor Antonio Segni, liberal-minded Demo-Christian, nothing happened. To anyone who has any acquaintance with Italian domestic policy, and with the atmosphere of quasi-MacCarthyism prevailing on delicate issues of foreign policy, the deepness of this change will be obvious.

The rest of the interview with Signor Vedovato was devoted to the general advantages of holding the exhibit in Hong Kong. He also insisted on the necessity of having important stores of machinery waiting in Hong Kong, in order to be able to compete with other countries, who also had stores. The allusion to the necessity of competition in trade with People's China was only too evident, though no direct reference to a possible success of American-Chinese relations was made. The first customer for Italy's export to China will be, as Signor Vedovato pointed out, Hong Kong's expanding industry. Chinese Banks have offered to pay for machinery in ready money, and to grant payment facilities to Chinese industrial firms.

COLOMBO PLAN TECHNICAL AID

THE 1954-55 report of the Colombo Plan Council for Technical Cooperation in South and South-East Asia was published last month. It observes that there has been, during the year under review, an increased flow of technical aid, experts, trainees and equipment, and a greater effort to relate technical assistance directly to schemes for promoting economic development and the raising of living standards.

The Technical Cooperation Scheme came into existence under the Colombo Plan in 1950. Its main purpose is to help member countries in the Plan area to raise the level of technical skills among agricultural, industrial and other workers in cooperation with the Technical Assistance programmes of the United States and of the United Nations and its specialised agencies. The following main points are contained in the report:

Trainees

From the beginning of the Scheme up to the end of June, 1955, 2,676 training places have been provided—1,023 in 1954/55.

By 30 June, 1955, the largest group (440) to have gone abroad was for training in food production and agriculture generally. The next biggest group was for training in administration (428), then engineering (331), education (305), medical and health (293), industry

and trade (219), transport and communications (195), power and fuel (146). Other varied subjects included the organising of co-operatives, broadcasting and journalism, taxation, social services, accountancy, statistics and insurance.

The United Kingdom provided facilities for 853 trainees: from India (245); Ceylon (244); Pakistan (218); Indonesia (72); Philippines (32); Burma (24); Nepal (11); Thailand (5); and one each from Laos and Vietnam. Australia provided facilities for 916 trainees, India for 240, Canada for 311, New Zealand for 226, Ceylon and Japan for 11 each, and Pakistan for 8.

Experts

The demand for experts has been heaviest in medicine and health owing largely to a number of important national medical projects, as in Ceylon. Experts in transport and communications, engineering, food, agriculture and forestry, education and in industry and trade follow close behind and in each of these fields the range of experts is wide.

In 1954/55, 129 experts were provided as compared with 86 in 1953/54. Out of 672 experts applied for during the past 3 years, 392 have been provided. Of these 117 are in the field of medical and health; 54 in transport and communications; 51 in engineering; 47

in food, agriculture and forestry; 42 in education and 27 in industry and trade.

The United Kingdom has provided 157 experts (to Ceylon 65; India 64; Pakistan 23; Indonesia 3; and Burma 2), Australia sent 115, Canada 59, New Zealand 44, India 14 and Japan 3 experts to 13 South-East Asian countries.

Posts of professors or lecturers at Universities and Technical Institutes are still hard to fill and it also remains difficult to recruit some types of engineers and technicians. An important development is the increasing demand for experts to take executive responsibilities in addition to offering technical advice. The member countries of the area are making more enquiries about the availability of firms and consultants.

Equipment

The present trend of requests indicates a shift in emphasis towards equipment for the establishment or the expansion of training and research facilities in the region with the object of training instructors for the future.

Requests range from the supply of textbooks to the provision of training aircraft. Most are for workshop equipment for secondary and technical high schools and colleges, vocational training and science teaching centres and for laboratory equipment for research in such fields as plant protection, biological control, dairying, rice, tea, cotton and forestry; water power, irrigation, roads, navigation and telecommunications; mining and applied geology; metallurgy; industrial and scientific research; chemicals, ceramics and textiles; and medical and health.

Requests for equipment valued at over £2 million have been put in. The cost of equipment already supplied or on order, or offer, is approximately £1½ million.

Training in the Region

The general movement to create or expand and improve training

centres in the area continued during the year. The assistance ranged from aid to university teaching to manual training centres.

Mutual Aid in the Region

The report quotes a number of instances—Ceylon offering training in cooperatives; India providing courses in such subjects as irrigation and flood controls. India has also sent four aeronautical ground engineers to Indonesia and has provided Nepal with training for 188 people. Pakistan and Singapore have also made training courses available.

Conclusion

Summing up, the report states that the countries of the area are now producing many more trained men than ever before. At the same time they find that still more skill is needed from abroad to supplement their resources to meet the mounting demands of their development programmes, for trained men of all kinds. There are few fields—public or private—in which significant increases in economic development are not limited seriously by the continuing shortage of skilled men, so the training task, far from diminishing as further steps are made in economic development, is growing as the economies expand and become more diversified. Fortunately the joint enterprise of technical cooperation is more than fulfilling expectations, although much remains to be done.

Under the Colombo Plan and the United States' technical assistance, 5,701 trainees have now gone abroad or among the countries of the area while 1,341 experts have come to work in the area, most but not all of them from outside the Region. When the United Nations figures are added, the totals become 7,159 trainees and 3,714 experts.

Although the import of technical assistance schemes cannot be measured with exactitude it was clear that most of the technical aid projects had undoubtedly contributed considerably, though in varying measure, to the efforts of the governments of the region to accelerate development and improve the standard of living of their peoples.

CEYLON-EUROPE TRADE

By Gamini Navaratne (Colombo)

A SUBSTANTIAL increase in the volume of trade between European countries and Ceylon is expected by trade organisations in the island following the recent visit of a Trade Mission to Europe.

The Trade Mission, which was led by Mr. S. C. Shirley Corea, Minister of Commerce, Trade and Fisheries visited the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, Yugoslavia and Egypt.

At present Ceylon produce like tea, rubber and coconut oil, are channelled to European countries through London, Genoa, Trieste, Hamburg and Rotterdam. This trade is handled by a few established foreign houses, so that Ceylonese have no share in it.

The Government could have broken this monopoly by legislation but it preferred competition—hence the Trade Mission. Also, in choosing the second method the Government is paying a tribute to the great service done by these foreign business establishments in popularising Ceylon produce abroad by maintaining high standards of quality and in earning foreign exchange.

Commerce Minister, Shirley Corea is convinced that unless and until Ceylon builds up direct contacts between exporters in Ceylon and importers in the countries that consume those goods, there cannot be an increase in either the exports of the island's products or developments of new markets.

"Trade through centres like London, Rotterdam and Hamburg certainly have their advantages both to exporters at this end and also to consumers at the other end," he said, "but these are limited in value and do not provide that degree of flexibility and dynamism that is necessary for increasing the volume of exports. . . . It must surely

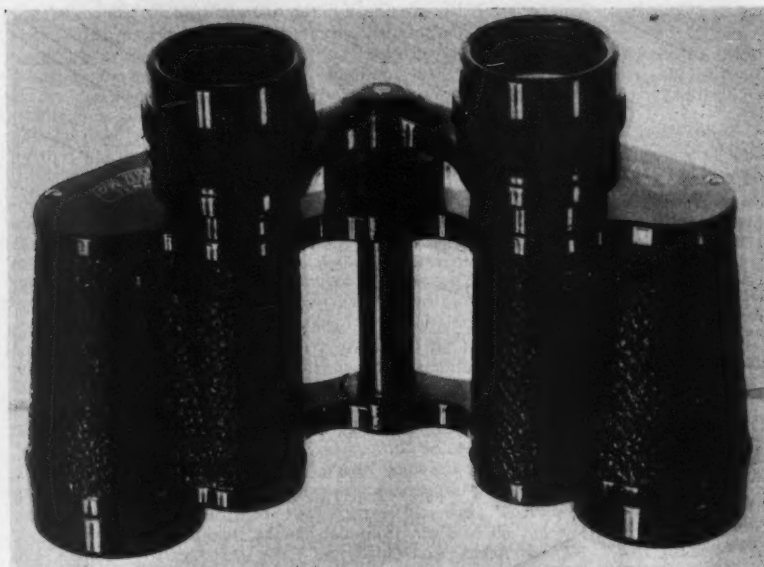
be obvious that the more people come to know each other in exporting and importing countries directly rather than through third parties, the greater the chance for increasing trade both ways. I think our Mission has done quite a lot to publicise Ceylon in the countries we visited and to arouse their interest in doing direct trade with us. . . . We impressed this not only on the traders whom we met in their large numbers, but also on the Governments with whom we had discussions. We also discussed at government level questions affecting import restrictions, customs duties and settlement of trade disputes and complaints and the need for exchange of information, market intelligence and information regarding Ceylon products and continental products."

The Mission signed a trade agreement with Spain, while agreements with other countries will be concluded shortly. Spain has agreed to grant a preferential rate of customs duty on Ceylon goods and to place imports of tea, rubber and spices on their free list. The ban on the imports of coconut products to Spain has also been lifted.

France, Germany, Ireland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Italy and a few other countries have agreed to liberalise imports from Ceylon.

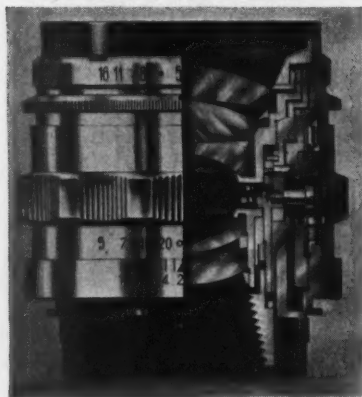
Despite pressure from local commercial interests, the Government did not permit the Trade Mission to visit Soviet Russia. But Poland, which was on the itinerary, could not be visited as the Minister of Commerce was recalled by the Ceylon Government. Mr. Shirley Corea, however, had discussions with the Polish Ambassador in London.

Ceylon's chief items for export, besides tea, rubber and coconut oil, are spices, desiccated coconut, copra and fibre products. In return Ceylon hopes to import agricultural machinery, textiles, milk products, motor vehicles, chemicals and fertilisers.

*Zeiss binoculars*

ASIA THROUGH ZEISS LENSES

TO many people the word "Zeiss" is practically synonymous with field glasses. This is understandable, for literally millions of them have been sold in all parts of the world including the East and South-

*Cut through Zeiss prismatic field glasses*

East Asia. Other instruments falling under this heading, next to prismatic telescopes, are sighting telescopes and opera glasses. It is all the more to be regretted that import restrictions in some countries prevent the Zeiss works from satisfying the steadily

growing demand for these products. The same view is unfortunately taken with regard to lenses for photographic cameras, reproduction and projection equipment, all of which are enjoying a unique international reputation for quality and are needed in every branch of science, medicine, engineering and by the amateur photographer.

One may, however, confidently predict a change of attitude in the future. There is no question, as the living standards of the people in those countries continue to rise, that the restrictions on the import of photographic lenses will be among the first to disappear. A good guide in this respect is perhaps the exceptional interest shown by visitors from those countries for the moderately priced Zeiss "Werra," the camera with the "new look" and many novel features, which was introduced to the public at the 1955 Leipzig Spring Fair. This survey would be incomplete without pointing to the great service which portable sound-film equipment is one day going to render in the field of education and cultural activities of the mass of the people in those countries.

The tremendous changes now taking place in the Far East and South-East Asia and the progress made by the peoples in that area are followed by

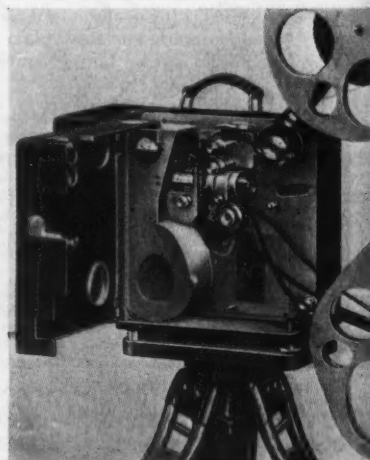
BOAC Cargo Service to Australia

Growing demand for cargo space to Australia, has induced the BOAC to increase their freighter service between London, Singapore and Sydney. Freighters leave London every Thursday morning, reaching Singapore Sunday with a through connection to Sydney where they arrive Tuesday morning. An additional cargo plane leaves London every Sunday, arriving in Singapore the following Wednesday. On alternate Thursdays there is a connection with Qantas to Australia for this service, arriving in Sydney on Friday mornings.

Sino-Bulgarian Postal Agreement

On September 14 an Agreement was concluded in Sofia between the People's Republics of China and Bulgaria for improved postal, telephonic, telegraphic and radio communication between those countries. It was signed by Mr. Chung Fu-hsiang, Chinese Deputy Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, and Mrs. Tsola Dragoicheva, Minister of Posts and Telegraph, the only woman Minister in Bulgaria.

the working people of Carl Zeiss-Jena with the closest attention and in a spirit of profound admiration and deepest understanding. It is a point of honour with them to see to it that instruments made by Zeiss workers for shipment to those parts will be delivered on time and in every detail conforming to highest expectations. In doing so they feel they are contributing, in whatever small measure, to a development in that part of the world whose importance as a factor for the maintenance of peace and the preservation of cultural values cannot be overestimated.

*Zeiss projector SK 16/50*



"I very well remember the first opportunity I had of working with an oil-immersion system and of convincing myself thereby of the enormous progress the optical establishment of Carl Zeiss had made under Prof. Abbe's ingenious leadership. Very often, when using oil-immersion systems on subsequent occasions, my thoughts were with the Zeiss optical establishment in admiration and gratitude for their precious gift to all those of us who have to work with the microscope."



Ever since the oil-immersion systems and the Abbe sub-stage enabled Robert Koch to advance his fundamental discoveries,
and

for twenty years in close cooperation with Professor Zernicke, the Jena Zeiss Works prepared the technological ground for the phase-contrast method of observation, for which Professor Zernicke received the Nobel Prize in 1953.

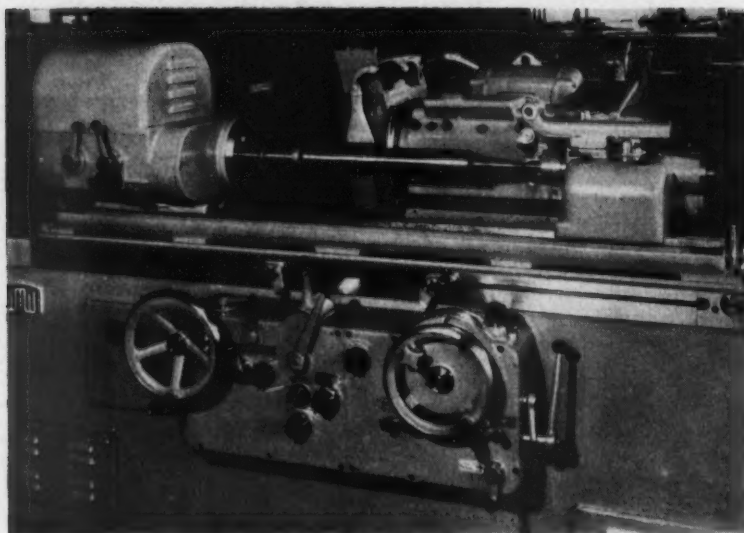
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External cylindrical grinding machine

East German Grinding Machine

EXTERNAL cylindrical grinding machines with grinding lengths from 200 to 8,000 mm. are the chief product of the "Veb Schleifmaschinenwerk Karl-Marx-Stadt" (nationally-owned establishment).

Special attention is drawn to the external cylindrical grinding machine model SA 300. It is being manufactured as a medium type machine tool with a grinding length from 1,000 to 1,500 mm. With its swing-over bed of 300 mm. it will meet most of the requirements within its working range and may, therefore, be regarded as the standard type of machine for many branches of the metal-working industry, particularly of machine tool and vehicle-production enterprises. The machine works hydraulically in all its functions after the longitudinal and the plunge-cut grinding method.

The model SA 300 machine tool with 1,000 mm. grinding length is designed for normal types with an automatic stopping device, which after obtaining the grinding measure of the workpiece causes the automatic stopping of the grinding spindle headstock feed, disengagement of all functions and the feeding back of the grinding spindle headstock, thus putting the whole machine out of operation for the changing of workpieces. This automatic stopping device can be built in machines with 1,500 mm. working range if required.

As additional equipment, a hydraulic return of the tailstock spindle sleeve can be delivered, which is released by foot control, thus entailing an essentially simpler working for the operator when the workpiece is changed, particularly in the case of heavy or long workpieces.

The stability of the machine is scrupulously guaranteed. The table speed is infinitely variable. The grinding carriage has a rapid power traverse by which simple and safe exchange and measuring of the workpiece

is possible. The grinding spindle is made of first-class alloyed case-hardening steel, and the surface is lapped.

The wheel truing attachment, which is part of the standard equipment and mounted on the massively designed footstock, allows of safely truing even when the workpiece is set. The operating elements of the machine are of the central adjusting type so that they may easily be seen on the control tray. All movements and functions, including the workpiece revolution, the cooling water supply, beginning of feed in the recessing and longitudinal grinding, table movement, rapid power traverse of the grinding carriage and the automatic stopping system, can be released by operating the main lever. Each of the functions, however, except the table movement, can also be operated independently from the main lever.

The machine is suited both to rough-grinding and super-finish grinding, in which case a rough surface up to 0.3μ can be obtained when using grinding wheels with 120 to 180 grain size.

For grinding workpieces with a small oval shape to be obtained, e.g., pistons for internal combustion motors, the oval grinding attachment is used. It is mounted on the workpiece table and has a headstock of its own with drive motor and footstock. An internal grinding attachment can also be delivered as an additional set.

For grinding convex and concave workpieces (cylinders) the machine can be delivered as special type with a copying attachment. The grinding carriage of this type is controlled via a form plate of the shape to be given the workpiece. The copying wheel carriage with feed gear mechanism is moved on balls, hardened prismatic gibs and spherical ball bearings.

(Exporters: WMW Export, 61, Mohrenstrasse, Berlin W 8.)

Leipzig Fair A Success

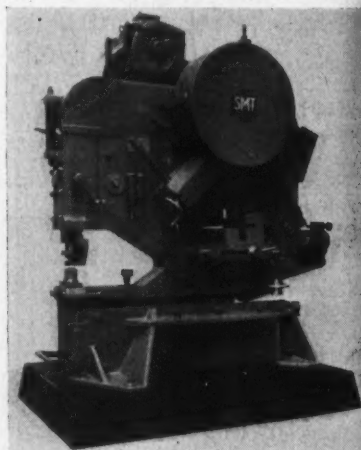
The Leipzig Autumn Fair stood under the influence of the relaxation of the international situation brought about by the Geneva Conference which created a favourable atmosphere for the enlivenment and intensification of the economic relations between countries with different social systems. A total of 7,575 exhibitors showed an international display of goods in 16 Fair buildings and 2 Fair halls covering 99,608 sq. metres. Foreign exhibitors totalled 682, occupying a total stand space of 9,046 sq. metres.

The total turnover of the foreign trade of the German Democratic Republic amounted to \$176.5 million. Export deals figure in this sum to the value of \$106.25 million. In fact, commercial activities at the Autumn Fair were so brisk that it was impossible to conclude all the contracts within the six days it lasted. It has, therefore, been decided to extend the Spring Fair 1956 by one day and the Autumn Fair 1956 by two days. Thus the new dates for the Sample and Technical Fair in spring are February 26 to March 8, and for the Autumn Fair of consumer goods September 2 to September 9, 1956.

The importance of the Leipzig Fair is such, and the business opportunities it offers so considerable, that few firms of international standing can afford not to exhibit or at least to visit it.

Cranes for Indian Railways

Indian Railways placed through the India Store Department, London, an order for three 5-ton Travelling Cranes with Thomas Smith & Sons (Rodley) Ltd., Leeds. A special feature of the cranes are the carriages which are of the permanent way type; this enables them to travel in train formation when travelling long distances. The cranes are self-propelled when working on site and can be used for general purposes. It is expected to commence delivery in May 1956.

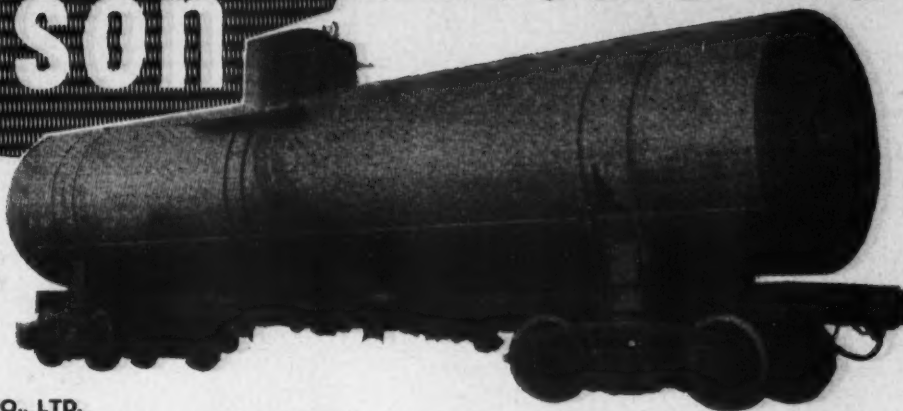


"Bennie" Splitting Shears and Punch with Bar, Angle and Tee Bevel Cropper. A product of the Scottish Machine Tool Corporation Ltd., Glasgow. This machine was shown at the Sydney Machine Tool Exhibition earlier this year

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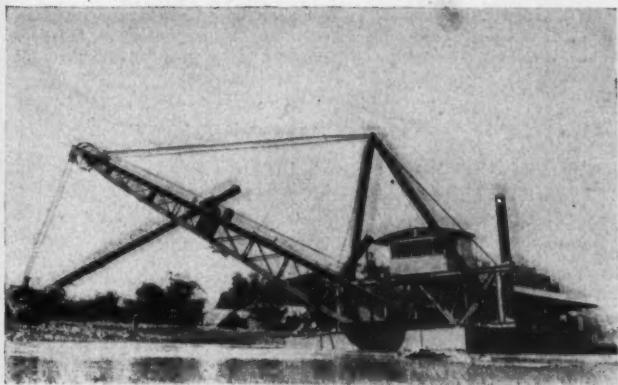
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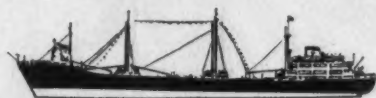
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LOAN FOR PORT OF KARACHI

THE World Bank has made a loan of various currencies amounting to £5 million for port improvements at Karachi, capital of Pakistan. The loan will help to finance the reconstruction and modernisation of the cargo berths and handling facilities of the East Wharves. Karachi is the only port of West Pakistan, and the East Wharves handle 60 per cent. of the traffic that passes through the port. The Wharves were built at the turn of the century and have so deteriorated that improvements are needed to avoid serious interruption in the normal flow of goods into and out of West Pakistan. The project being financed will facilitate the movement of freight, speed up the turn-around time of vessels and increase the capacity of the port.

The Bank expects that the loan, which is for 25 years, will be made almost entirely in European currencies and Japanese yen. This will be the first time that the Bank has lent Japanese yen. The Japanese Government have made yen available for this loan from its subscription to the Bank's capital.

The loan was made to The Trustees of the Port of Karachi.

The Port Trust was created in 1886 as a corporate body and vested with the property and management of the port. There are 17 Trustees, representing a wide variety of interests including shipping, commerce and industry.

The Port of Karachi now handles about 3,000,000 tons of cargo annually. The volume of cargo handled in the East Wharves has nearly doubled since Partition in 1947 and about three-quarters of it is imports. Since the East Wharves were designed primarily to handle exports of wheat and cotton, the predominance of imports has made it necessary to change the layout and to have a different type of handling and storage facilities. Furthermore the structures have become so dilapidated from age and intensive use that operations are unsafe.

Under the project which the Bank's loan will help to finance, the 13 cargo berths will be dismantled and replaced with 13 new berths. A modern quay wall about 6,600 feet long and a paved apron with roadways and railway tracks will be built. Fifty-two electric portal cranes will be installed along the quay. New storage facilities will include five one-storey sheds with a storage area of approximately 480,000 square feet and open platforms with a storage area of about 2,350,000 square feet. The railway yard will be remodeled, and roads, bridges and railway tracks will be built to serve the storage area. Utilities and fire prevention facilities will be installed and workshops and an additional office building will be constructed.

The entire project is scheduled to be finished by 1962. The quay wall is to be completed in 3½ years. There should be little interruption of normal traffic during construction since no more than four berths will be out of service at any time and additional mooring buoys will be provided.

The estimated cost of the project is £10 million. The Bank's loan of £5 million will be used to pay for imported equipment, materials and services. The local currency costs of the project, as well as the cost of other works needed to improve harbour services, will be met by the Port Trust from its earnings and reserve funds.

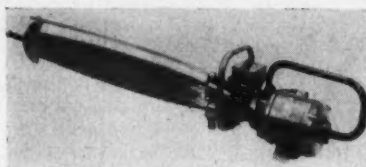
Austrian nitrate fertilizer for China

The export programme of the Austrian Nitrate Works, Inc., Linz, has been considerably extended during the first half of 1955. Thus for the first time in the history of the company sales agreements have been closed with China for nitrate fertiliser, lasting over a period of three years.

New Electric Chain Saws

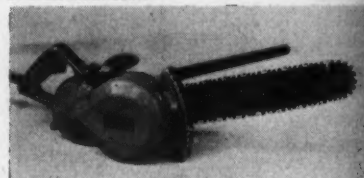
J. Clubley Armstrong Danarm Ltd., announce two new electric chain saws which should be of great interest to Asian markets. A new model of the Danarm Junior Electric

claims generally improved performance in felling, lopping and cross-cutting. It will take up to a 3 ft. guide blade, and being exceptionally robust, it will not stall however much it is abused.



"Junior"

Another new saw, the Baby Electric, will make a 9 in. or 12 in. cut at terrific speed and, being very light, it has all the advantages of a portable hand tool with none of the snags of a circular saw.



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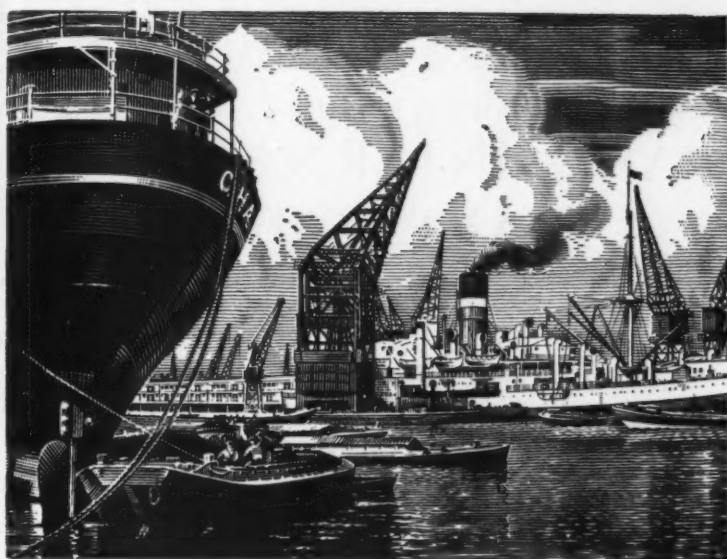
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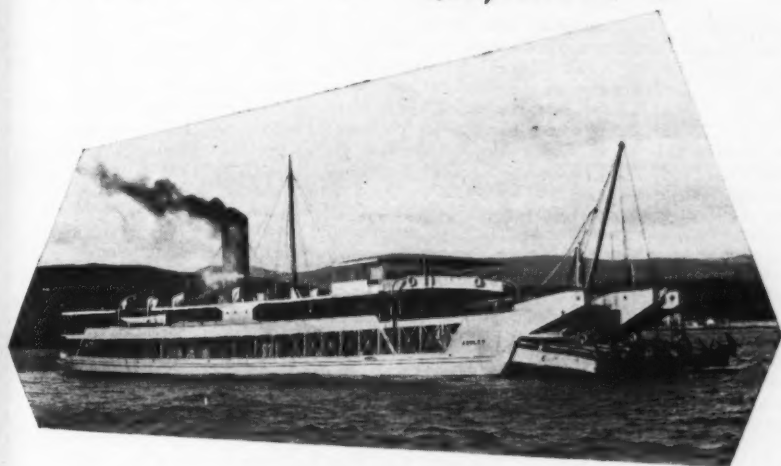
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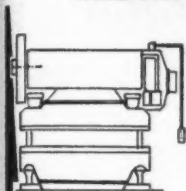
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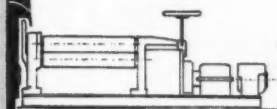
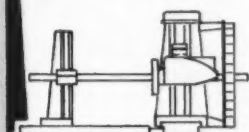
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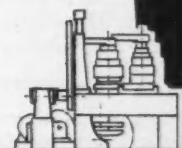
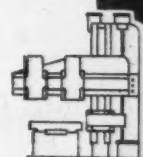
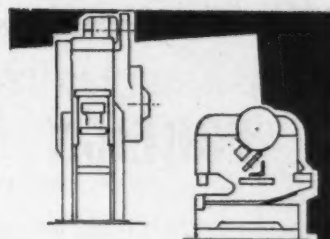
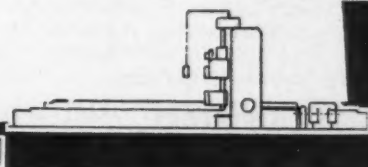
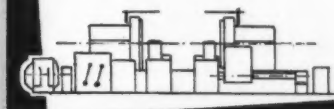
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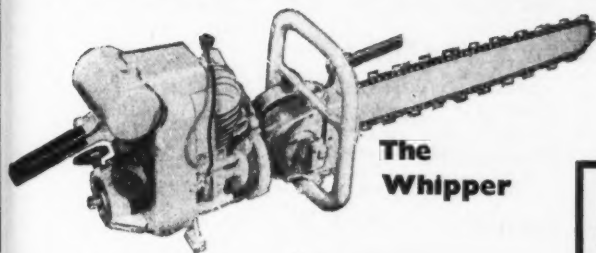
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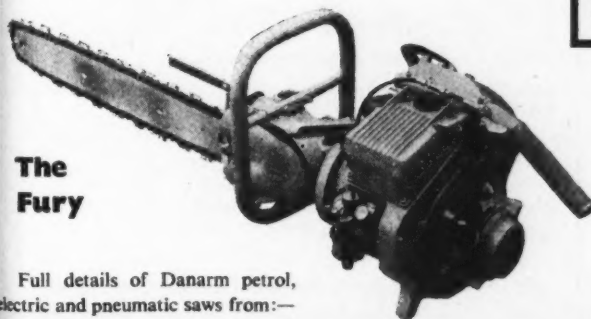
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State enterprise for the export and import of chemicals and chemico-pharmaceutical products. Bucharest, Str. Bursei No. 2; phone : 6.06.36; cables : "Chimimport."

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State enterprise for the export and import of timber and wooden products, paper, pasteboard, and paper and pasteboard articles. Bucharest, Piata Rosetti No. 4; phone : 6.29.63; cables : "Exportlemn."

INDUSTRIALEXPORT

State enterprise for the export and import of machines and industrial equipment. Bucharest, Str. Gabriel Peri No. 2; phone : 4.97.44; cables : "Indexport."

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State enterprise for the export and import of industrial machines and rolling stock. Bucharest, Str. Mihail Eminescu No. 10; phone : 2.65.20; cables : "Masinimport."

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State enterprise for the export and import of metals and raw materials for the metallurgical industry. Bucharest, Bd. 6 Martie 42; phone : 4.88.91; cables : "Metalimport."

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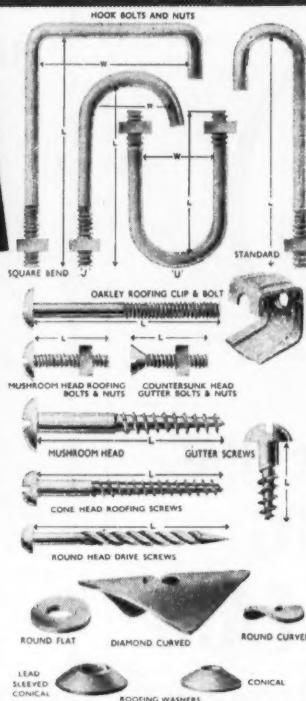
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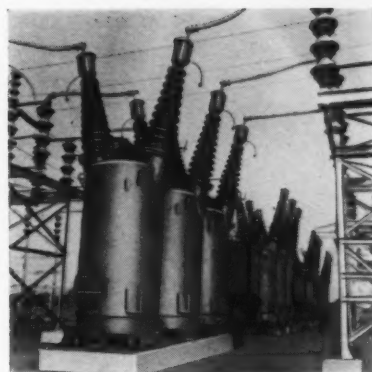
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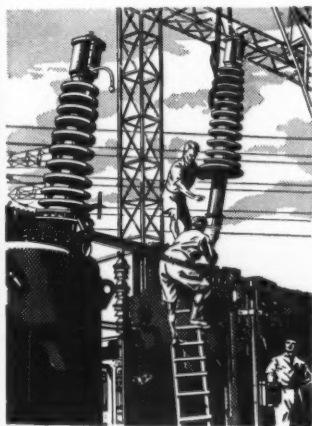
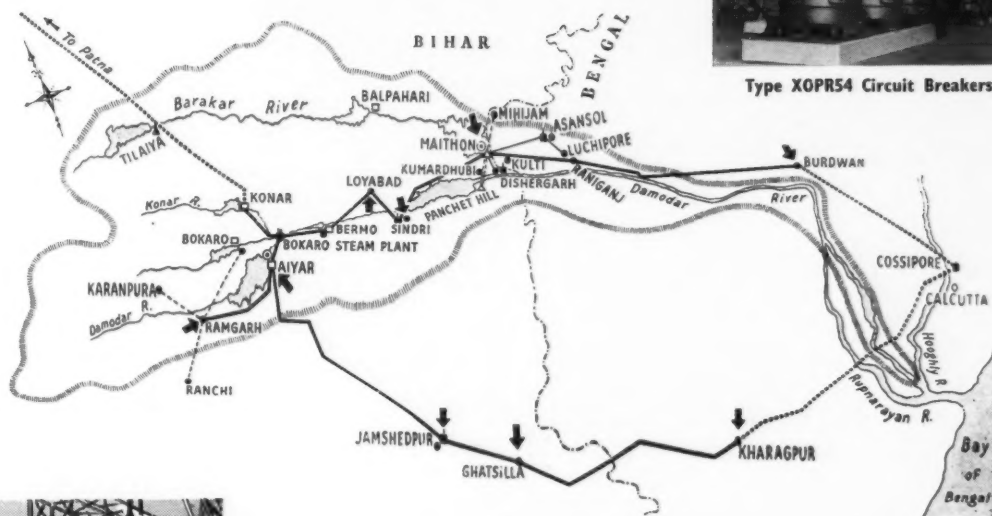
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